

HENRY WATKINS ALLEN
of Louisiana



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Preface

WHEN SARAH ANNE DORSEY sat down with her memories of Henry Watkins Allen and began to write his biography, she told her readers:

On the sad day, June 7th, 1865, when my friend turned away from the door of our temporary home in Texas, and set his face Pilgrimwise towards the West,—still dark, under the faint rays of the early morning, while we stood grouped around him, with aching hearts and eyes too full of tears even to see clearly the slender, worn, maimed form, the face so pale from fatigue and emotion, for whose dear sake we kept the tear undropped, and forced back the words of grief that would else have sprung bitterly from our lips,—as he pressed my hand for the last time, he said: “I have been asked to give notes for my biography—I have not yet done it—but if *you* survive me, *will you write it*, if it should be asked for again?” This request he often repeated in his letters—in the last one I ever received from him he makes it again.

The promise then given I now attempt to fulfil. . . .

Allen died in April, 1866; his biography was in print before the end of that year. It is a hurried, warm, and mazelike book, a book which, perhaps because it was a labor of love, is occasionally out of focus but always intense.

Sarah Dorsey’s *Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen*, published nearly a century ago, has been the only biography of the man to appear. Yet Allen was much involved in the chain of circumstances which led up to the War Between the States, was a successful and inspiring military leader, and, as war-time governor of Louisiana, was perhaps the most successful administrator in the Confederacy. An attempt to place him in historical perspective is long overdue.

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assistance received in the acquisition of materials from Mr. U. B. Evans of Haphazard Plantation, Ferriday, Louisiana; his interest first aroused ours. Thanks are due to the multitude of scholars whose research has frequently guided our own, especially to Dr. Luther E. Chandler and Mr. Charles E. East, who allowed us to use the unpublished results of their own investigations into Allen's career. Mr. Smith C. Daniell of Port Gibson, Mississippi, aided us in tracking down obscure bits of information and, as our guide, helped us upon occasion to follow, literally, in Allen's footsteps. Mr. Dalton Watson of Enola Plantation, Waterproof, Louisiana, and Mr. Everette Truly of Natchez, Mississippi, also assisted. Finally our thanks go to Miss Pearl Segura of the University of Southwestern Louisiana Library, whose zeal in tracing leads and elusive data exceeded the call of duty; to the many colleagues, such as W. M. Drake, Robert Miller, and Richard Bienvenu, who helped in the location of materials; and to our wives—for everything.

V.H.C. *and* A.E.S.

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Prologue

THE GOVERNOR OF Louisiana closed the door behind him, locked it with the deliberation of duty bounded by weariness, and handed the key to his aide. Without looking back at the "governor's mansion," a small three-room frame house, he leaned on the arm of a friend, made his way painfully to a waiting carriage and, thus abdicating his office, rode away. The date was June 2, 1865; the place, Shreveport, the state's provisional capital. Earlier that day Henry Watkins Allen had issued his last message to the people of Louisiana. The act was done, but as he began the long ride toward Mexico, Allen found himself still pondering part of his carefully worded farewell:

FELLOW CITIZENS,—I have thought it my duty to address you a few words in parting from you, perhaps forever. My administration as Governor of Louisiana closes this day. The war is over, the contest is ended, the soldiers are disbanded and gone to their homes, and now there is in Louisiana no opposition whatever to the Constitution and the laws of the United States.¹

All that he owned he had with him. His property had been confiscated by Federal forces; the Confederate money in his pocket was worthless; but he carried with him the respect, admiration, and love of the people of his state.

"You who, like myself, have lost all . . . must begin life anew." Some, who were aware of the governor's departure, stood along the way and cheered him. Tears were mixed with blessings.

If my voice could be heard and heeded at Washington, I would say, "Spare this distracted land—oh, spare this afflicted people. In the name of bleeding humanity, they have suffered enough!" But my countrymen, this cannot be. I am one of the proscribed—I must go into exile—I have

stood by you, fought for you, and stayed with you up to the very last moment, and now leave you with a heavy heart. . . . I go to seek repose for my shattered limbs. . . . Perhaps, in better days, when the storm of passion and prejudice shall have passed away, we may meet again; I may then be permitted to return—to mingle with my friends—to take them by hand, and “forget my own griefs, to be happy with you.”

West of Shreveport, Allen crossed the line into Texas. The eager and sorrowful reception he received at almost every point of his journey cushioned his melancholy, but did not free him from mental agitation. If, as a Marshall, Texas, newspaper reported, he and his party met robbers near there, the episode may have been, paradoxically, a welcome diversion.²

Edmund William Halsey, Allen’s friend and private secretary, had gone on ahead. His aide, two other friends, and two servants accompanied him. A small traveling bag contained several changes of clothes and, carefully folded at the bottom, a full Confederate uniform. The entire party was armed.³

At Crockett, Texas, several old friends were waiting for him, among them Samuel W. Dorsey and his wife Sarah, whom circumstances of war had forced from Tensas Parish in Louisiana. Sarah Ann Dorsey was thirty-six and indomitable. Her husband, eighteen years her senior, seems to have astutely cultivated toleration where domination would have failed. Mrs. Dorsey was educated in languages, was appreciative of the past, had properly toured Europe, was a determined Christian, an amateur painter, and an aspiring author. She was completely devoted to the Confederate cause and to the way of life crumbling around her.⁴

What Samuel Dorsey and Henry Allen thought about each other is not recorded, but Mrs. Dorsey was eagerly awaiting the visitor. Allen, in a message delivered by Halsey, had written to his “Dearest Friend”: “I want to see you so much—you feel to me like a most dearly-beloved sister, to whom I can open my whole heart, and speak freely, while I know that you fully appreciate my warm affection. I wrote you to-day by mail, shall continue to write as usual, every day, till I leave this. Hope to see you within a week, as I expect to leave here on Sunday next.”⁵

The two friends had most of thirty-six hours together at Crockett. The deep sorrow of parting was punctuated by smiles that were few and forced. During these last hours together Sarah Dorsey had the

satisfaction of knowing that Henry Allen was not ashamed of tears in her presence. Then, as always, she marveled at the resilience of this man who seemed to thrive on life's difficulties and who liked to think of himself as "a conqueror on . . . any field of battle, mental, moral, or physical."⁶

Allen's features were drawn. Fatigue and emotional strain had drained him as he struggled through the years of trying circumstances. When all external resources failed him, he continued to give from something inside himself. One badly healed cheek was a reminder of an early battlefield and gave livid testimony of a Northern bullet which had entered his mouth and torn its way out at Shiloh. Both legs pained him, maimed mementos of the temerity of Confederate courage and the efficiency of Federal grapeshot. These physical mementos were equaled by the emotional scars he bore.

On the morning of his departure, as Mrs. Dorsey was arranging his luncheon basket, Allen showed her the tin tumblers he carried with him. She protested, "No! I don't want you to drink out of tin—here is one of my silver goblets, which belonged to my mother."⁷ Allen put the goblet in his coat pocket. During his exile in Mexico this token of a dear friend's admiration would serve as a reminder of old associations and happier times—of his life in Louisiana.

2

The Early Years *Virginia and Missouri*

FARMVILLE IN VIRGINIA'S Prince Edward County was a staunchly Presbyterian community whose leading families—Allen, Watkins, Venable, Woodson, and Michaux—were linked as firmly with Virginia by history as with one another by marriage. There was born on April 29, 1820, Henry Watkins Allen, the third child and son in a family of seven children.¹ His father, Thomas Allen, held an M.D. degree from the University of Pennsylvania and was an alumnus of nearby Hampden-Sidney College, where Henry's grandfather, a soldier in the Revolutionary War, was a trustee.² Hampden-Sidney had been incorporated in 1783 with a distinguished board of directors which included Patrick Henry and James Madison. Henry's mother, Ann Venable Watkins, was the daughter of Thomas Watkins, who had served as a captain in the Revolutionary War. Both the Allen and Watkins families had been in America since the early seventeenth century, and the first Watkins to come had been a companion of Captain John Smith.³

As Henry grew up in Virginia, his father gradually increased the family holdings. In 1828 Thomas Allen had 584 acres of land, largely devoted to the cultivation of tobacco, and the Federal census of 1830 indicates that at that time he owned twenty-four slaves.⁴ The Allen home, two miles from Farmville, looked down on Briery Creek, which joined the Bush and the Sandy to add its waters to the Appomattox a few miles below town. Nearby was Longwood, the home of Judge Peter Johnston, jurist and legislator whose son Joe was to command armies for the Confederacy; and the Allen property adjoined that of Benjamin Price, whose son Sterling would also become a Confederate

general. One county west stood the Appomattox courthouse; forty miles to the northeast, the city of Richmond.

When Henry was old enough to attend school, he went to live at the home of an uncle who taught in a neighborhood school. His schoolmates remembered that he "was distinguished for his aptness to learn, for his high-toned honor and politeness, especially towards the little girls, whose champion he was always ready to be, as well as of the younger and weaker boys. He had always a blow prepared for any sort of an Oppressor; though he was quite obedient to rule, never was contumacious nor unforgiving."⁵ Such reports convinced Sarah Dorsey that Henry had acquired early the characteristics of frankness, simplicity, and demonstrativeness he would retain through life.

These traits he probably learned from his mother, for his father, never a demonstrative person, became even more reserved after her death. Dr. Allen was a devout man of deep faith and unquestionable integrity, however, and his reserve did not hamper his influence on those who knew him. His lofty aspirations gained him respect from all sides. Mrs. Dorsey assured her readers that as Henry Allen advanced in years "he learned to value his upright Father, to understand and reverence the fine, strong nature; but during his childhood and youth, it was only his Mother, and his Mother's memory that he worshipped, with a lavish idolatry, that neither time, absence, nor death itself was ever strong enough to lessen."⁶

Ann Watkins Allen died sometime after Henry Allen's tenth birthday in 1830. Three years later Thomas Allen sold his Virginia property and took his seven motherless children—five boys and two girls—to a new home in Missouri.⁷

One episode of the journey from Virginia is included in Mrs. Dorsey's *Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen*, and we may assume that she learned of it from Allen himself. Since it hardly presents young Henry in a favorable light, it indicates the extent of his confidence in her. Dr. Allen had so harshly reprimanded him for some minor misdeed that "the sensitive heart of the child" was wounded. All his "natural sweetness of temper" was turned into gall and he became so miserably furious that for a time he actually wished to die. While Henry was in this irrational mood, the wagon his father was driving came to a weak bridge over a deep stream. The boy noticed that the bridge swayed dangerously. "Seized with a sudden desire to put an end to his own wretchedness, and to revenge him-

self on the whole party," he leaped to the middle of the bridge and began jumping up and down trying to make it fall. He was grabbed immediately before any damage was done, and his childish rage dissolved in tears. Sarah commented that "he never could be governed by brute force; but gentleness and persuasion were irresistible powers" over him.⁸ A spanking undoubtedly helped.

Thomas Allen and his brother James (Henry's "Uncle Jeems") had purchased land in common in Ray County, Missouri, across the river from Lexington, as early as 1821. In 1833, when Thomas sold his Virginia holdings and moved west with his children, the land was divided, Thomas' share being 1,120 acres. There Dr. Allen continued to offer his medical services to the community of Farmville, Missouri, while devoting enough attention to his landholdings to double them by the time of his death in 1850.⁹

The older boys, at least, seemed to be enthusiastic about Missouri, and hunted the plentiful prairie hens, deer, cranes, wildcats, and wolves. Much time was spent helping their father, and by winter of that first year the family was established in a comfortable, if not spacious, log cabin. At that time the five boys ranged in age from three to sixteen. Nathaniel was the oldest; William was fifteen; Henry was thirteen; Charles, five; and Richard, three. The two girls, Mary, eleven, and Elizabeth Anne, nine, boarded out, receiving the proper maidenly training from a neighbor, Mrs. Woodward.¹⁰

The children grew up with vivid memories of a blizzard which struck that first winter when Thomas and James Allen were returning home from a trip to Independence, Missouri. Mrs. Woodward had brought the two girls over to the Allen cabin to feed and supervise the boys. The two men were long overdue when the children, bundled warmly, climbed a ladder to the roof. They stood there, lanterns in hand, the older boys armed against animal prowlers, sending a choir-like chorus of hellos over the snow-veiled Missouri landscape. After hours of calling, a distant hello finally answered and grew louder with each repetition until the travelers, who had lost their way groping homeward through blinding snow, followed the children's voices in from the storm.¹¹

On March 8, 1835, the almost fifteen-year-old Henry Allen wrote a letter to his cousin Charles Watkins in Virginia. Charles was also fifteen and anxious to come to Missouri. Henry was pleased that

Charles wanted to come out. Of course, the past winter had been so cold that "the pigs' tails froze off." But the cold had its compensations: hunting had been good. Mary, his sister, had grown considerably. "She is almost as high as I am," Henry wrote. "She passes for a great lady in this upper country and brother Nat for a gentleman." In the same letter he assured his cousin that there were as many respectable families in Missouri as there were in Virginia; and further enticed him with the contrast between the new country and the old.

Henry reported that his brothers and sisters had appointed him "chief cook and bottle washer when anything is to be done about the house." He and Nat had helped to found a debating society in the neighboring town of Richmond, and his education was not being neglected—he and Nat planned to go to college in the spring.¹²

Cousin Charles eventually came to Missouri, but Henry Allen was not there to greet him, nor was brother Nat. Nat had gone south during the Texas War of Independence in 1836 and, when Charles visited the family in 1840, had not been heard from again.¹³ Henry remained in Missouri until the end of 1837, living at or near East Hill, the plantation home his father built in 1836.

It is relatively easy to list some of Henry's activities between 1835 and 1837, but there is a problem of sequence. According to Mrs. Dorsey, he spent twelve months as a store clerk in Lexington, attended Marion College for the two following years, and then steamed southward on the Mississippi:

Dr. Allen now decided to make a merchant of this son. So he was taken from school, which he quitted most reluctantly, and put in the store of S. B. Stramacke, in the little town of Lexington, Missouri. He acted here in the capacity of store Boy, at first—later an as under Clerk. He remained here twelve months, but his tastes were not for trade. . . . He longed to go back to school to pursue his studies. . . . Books were always his delight. To become a lawyer, or better still, a *soldier*—his earnest eager, boyish dream of glory and distinction! . . . Dr. Allen, growing slowly conscious of his son's great unhappiness [and] unconquerable distaste to mercantile life, yielded at last [and] permitted him to enroll himself among the students of Marion College, Missouri [where] he remained . . . only two years.¹⁴

Mrs. Dorsey's next statement seems to indicate that she personally had done some checking on Allen's college career, or at least was in contact with people who knew: "His College friends speak of him

with great affection. Amongst these were Slaybrock, Page, the Bentons, and Brant of Missouri; Poller of Texas; and Charles Singleton of New Orleans.”¹⁵

Granting that Nat and Henry Allen expected to go to college in the spring of 1835, they need not have gone, and Henry may have turned to business. It was not possible to work for Mr. Stramacke and attend Marion College at the same time, for Stramacke's establishment was in Lexington and Marion College was located in the village of Philadelphia, on the other side of the state. Whether Henry Allen made his way south from East Hill or from Marion College, we might favor the theory of Stramacke first and college second, had not Allen made a statement on December 30, 1865, that he had worked for that gentleman “twenty-eight years ago,”¹⁶ which means that he served his mercantile apprenticeship in 1837, the year he went away.

The choice of college was not unusual; Marion was at that time under the direction of the Reverend Hiram P. Goodrich, a friend of Dr. Allen and one-time teacher at a theological seminary in Farmville, Virginia.¹⁷

Allen's first “affair of honor” developed while at college. His father had been insulted by an officer of the state militia. Although there seems to have been a barrier between the reserved Dr. Allen and his son, young Henry would not allow his father to be insulted. Impulsively he wrote to the officer, demanding an apology or a meeting upon the field. The apology was forthcoming. People who knew Allen at this time declared him “affectionate, generous, and just, but impatient of ridicule, and sensitive to a fault, in what he esteemed ‘matters of honor.’” Somewhere after this, “stung by some fancied wrong at the hands of his Father,” he decided to leave college and make his way independently.¹⁸

Hannibal, Missouri, and the Mississippi River were not far from Marion College. Whether or not Allen boarded a boat there for his journey south, he was no stranger to Hannibal's streets and docks. It is easy to imagine a young man watching the bustle of that town, marveling at the riverboats, and hearing whispered adventure in the boat whistles. The challenge of the river is eternal and as young as a boy's heart; Henry Allen turned toward the South, with independence and honor as his goals in that year of 1837.

The same year an old man also looked forward, and some of what

he saw was contained in his farewell address. Leaving the presidency, Andrew Jackson offered prophetic counsel to the nation he had served: "You have no longer any cause to fear danger from abroad; your strength and power are well known throughout the civilized world, as well as the high and gallant bearing of your sons. It is from within among yourselves . . . that factions will be formed and liberty endangered. It is against such designs, whatever disguise the actors may assume, that you have especially to guard yourselves." ¹⁹

The young man on the river steamer had no specific view of the future, nor any apparent plan of action. Therefore, it was for no specific reason, unless the suggestion had been made by a fellow passenger, that Henry Allen decided to leave the boat at Grand Gulf, Mississippi. ²⁰

3

The Young Captain

TIME WOULD BELITTLE Grand Gulf and the river would desert it, but in the 1830's and 1840's it was a thriving community of some twelve hundred people. Cotton was barged down the Big Black River to await the steamers there. A railroad as well as a wagon road connected it with the inland town of Port Gibson. It surpassed Vicksburg as a cotton market.¹ Two hotels, a boarding house, dry goods and grocery stores, a tin shop, commission houses, and lawyers and physicians awaited the pleasure of those who controlled and were therefore controlled by cotton and commerce.²

It was a Sunday morning when young Henry Allen arrived in Grand Gulf; most of the population was at church. Only three men were at the river when the steamboat docked. Allen was fair haired and beardless, neatly dressed, thirsty for adventure, and poor but ambitious. In his hand he clutched a small carpetbag.³ He asked the gentlemen on the shore if they knew where he might get a teaching position. One suggested a possibility and, when church was out, the young man was introduced to William R. McAlpine, a wealthy planter who needed a tutor for his seven children. McAlpine was one of the leading cotton planters of Claiborne County, Mississippi. His land and slave holdings were extensive; he was a member of the Whig party and director of a Port Gibson bank.

For two years Henry Allen lived with the McAlpine family, as tutor, on a plantation a few miles back from Grand Gulf. He inculcated two of his youthful male charges with his own eagerness and romantic fervor, enabling them to later go to their deaths gallantly and unquestioningly in the service of the Confederacy.⁴ The learning

process, of course, worked both ways. Allen, while tutoring the McAlpine children, was serving an apprenticeship which would enable him one day to master the intricacies of plantation society.

After tutoring for two years, Allen moved into Grand Gulf to teach in his own school and to study law in his leisure hours.⁵ Eventually he devoted full time to his legal studies in the office of Torrey and Brenham. On May 25, 1841, he was licensed to practice law in Mississippi.⁶ His practice seems to have been successful; records of the courts in Claiborne County indicate considerable activity on his part.⁷ But within months he put his law books aside to answer a call from the West. Sam Houston needed men. It was an opportunity that impulsive Henry Allen could not miss.

In 1836 Texas had won its independence from Mexico and had been recognized as a republic by the United States. The early years of the republic, however, were uneasy. Both Texans and Mexicans participated in border raids. A crescendo of Texas patriotism finally forced President Houston to move reluctantly toward war. Houston knew that Texas was not prepared for war, did not have an army, and could not equip one properly. Nevertheless, on March 10, 1842, he issued a call for militiamen.⁸ The next day he wrote the Texas consul at New Orleans concerning immigration. Immigrants were to come equipped with "*a good rifle or musket, with a cartouch box, or shot pouch and powder horn with at least one hundred rounds of ammunition,—a good knapsack, and six months' clothing, and enter service for six months subject to the laws of Texas.* They must be landed for the present at some point west of the mouth of the Brazos, with eight days' provisions. No number less than fifty-six men in companies well organized, will be received. On landing, each commandant will report to the Secretary of War for orders."⁹

Houston received considerable response. Many economic, cultural, and family ties connected Texas with the lower South. Agents were appointed to the United States to expedite the raising of funds and to encourage volunteers. Headquarters were in New Orleans with subordinate agencies in Kentucky and at Mobile, Alabama. A great many public meetings were held. The people of Mobile in their enthusiasm not only provided men and money but sent along a ship for the Texas navy.¹⁰

Allen and four other young men, anxious to offer their services to Texas, left Grand Gulf for New Orleans, where they joined some

twenty others similarly inclined. Allen became the leader of the group and set up his headquarters at the St. Charles Hotel. While awaiting the steamship *New York* which would take them to Galveston, their number grew to nearly forty, all wearing as a token of uniform broad-brimmed felt hats of the same design.

Once aboard ship the group elected officers. Allen was chosen captain. Few of President Houston's stipulations concerning "immigrants" had been complied with: their number was below fifty-six, many were unarmed, and scant attention had been paid to clothing. Only Allen, who had been penniless five years before, had sufficient funds. Frugality now made it possible for him to be generous. He paid for most of the provisions which the group consumed at Galveston while he drilled them into the semblance of a company. The volunteers felt that their choice of captain had been a good one. "Allen," his orderly observed, "was designed by nature for a military life. He rapidly mastered all the little tricks of the drill and seemed to take a great deal of pride in his company."¹¹

When Allen decided that his "Mississippi Guards" were ready for presidential review, he paid for steamer passage up the river to Houston. They arrived there on April 8, and Allen reported to the small brick building on Buffalo Bayou which served as the executive office of President Houston. Houston received him graciously, the usual civilities were exchanged, and Allen reported that he and a company of volunteers from Mississippi had come to join the "*army of Texas*." At this, Houston's eyes twinkled. "Captain Allen," he said, "I did not know there *was any army of Texas*."¹²

A few days later Houston addressed Allen and his volunteers. The Mississippi Guards may not have been, even then, entirely convincing as a military unit. At least one of the guards suspected that "Houston wished us at home or anywhere else but in Texas."¹³ Allen made a speech in reply, but the Mississippi Guards were still not in the Texas army. They had hurried up to wait, remaining in Houston for nearly a month. Allen continued to pay the bills.¹⁴

While in Houston he made use of the leisure provided by the delay to investigate the legal system in Texas. In one case he was amazed at what he found. A tremendous crowd had gathered to attend a murder trial. The accused was being defended by "the greatest criminal lawyer in Houston." Naturally Allen, so recently a lawyer himself, wished to witness the performance. He joined the crowd and

participated in its amazement when the counsel for defense rested his case without having offered a single witness on behalf of the accused. "To the surprise of the court, jury, bystanders, and even of the criminal himself, who looked visibly uneasy," the case returned to the prosecuting attorney for his summation to the jury. This he provided, "in evident consciousness of entire success."

The lawyer for the defense then spoke: "May it please the court, I deny that there has been anybody killed in this case. Much has been said about shooting, and stabbing, and all that, but sir, my learned brother, the prosecuting attorney, has failed to prove the 'corpus delicti.' No witness has yet proved that there was a dead body! I therefore *demand* of your honor, to instruct this jury to return a verdict of not guilty!"

Allen reported that "the judge smiled, the prosecuting attorney looked confounded." Despite the fact that the victim had been killed in the presence of several people, the attorney had "neglected to prove the man was *dead*." The necessary verdict of "not guilty" was returned.¹⁵

With this edifying experience behind him, Captain Allen led the Mississippi Guards back to Galveston on the fifth of May. Along with them went the Galveston Invincibles and the Georgia Volunteers. This time the stay in Galveston was brief. In a few days Houston arrived and again addressed the men.¹⁶ A cordial relationship now existed between Houston and Allen, who had been in the President's office frequently during the preceding month.¹⁷ Allen replied on behalf of the troops, about to embark on a schooner for Corpus Christi.

Henry Allen, barely twenty-two years of age, with a light mustache and still only slight evidence of a beard, was prepared to lead his troops to military glory. No one doubted his ability to lead, but there were some things about him which his orderly noted and pondered. In spite of his youthful appearance, Allen's "deportment and bearing was that of a man of forty-five or fifty. He had a most pleasant address and smile in social intercourse, but withal there was a reserve that barred all approach to familiarity. That shadowy and undefined space . . . between boyhood and mature age seemed never to have existed in the life of Allen."¹⁸

Disembarking at Corpus Christi, the Mississippi Guards, the Galveston Invincibles, and the Georgia Volunteers stayed together in a camp on the Nueces River. During the following weeks five more

companies arrived.¹⁹ There were some problems of discipline, which were not alleviated by the conviction of Allen's men that General James Davis (recently appointed Acting Adjutant General of the Army of Texas) was "an old granny" and that his subordinate officer was "a sot and inflated with vanity."²⁰

On July 7 a poorly organized force of Mexicans, about seven hundred in number, attacked the encampment. The attack was repulsed with little difficulty.²¹ Captain Allen and the Mississippi Guards, however, may have already left this camp area for Patricio, where they spent the summer at the frontier fighting the Mexicans.²² A letter from Texas to the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* in 1866 stated that "all old Texans will remember" that Allen was "posted on the extreme Western frontier, and did good service in keeping back the invaders, both Mexican and Indians."²³

Sarah Dorsey says that at the end of the summer Allen and his men assembled at Egypt on the Colorado River and were "honorably discharged."²⁴ But the *Daily Picayune* on August 31, 1842, reported that "the volunteers left in command of Captain Allen at Carlos' Rancho, were recently disbanded at Egypt, on the Colorado." The distinction between "discharged" and "disbanded" may be an important one. Allen, at any rate, did not immediately return to Mississippi. According to the San Augustine *Red Lander*, he was in Galveston in September to pick up provisions, secured at his own expense, from the United States.²⁵

During this or some earlier visit to Galveston, Allen upheld the "honor" of Mississippi in a fist fight. He met a captain from Alabama whose remarks concerning his adopted state he found offensive. A fight ensued, and though the men were soon separated, it was not before they had bloodied each other. The two became good friends, however, and remained so by avoiding remarks about their respective states thereafter.²⁶

Henry Allen, having exhibited "the qualities essential to military command," reported to George W. Hockley, Secretary of War of the Republic of Texas, who thanked and commended him on behalf of the President and Secretary of War, and from there he returned to his home.²⁷ In October of 1842 he resumed the practice of law in Grand Gulf.

The "war" in Texas was only an interlude for Allen. But later, as governor of Louisiana during the War Between the States, he was to

claim "the right to speak for Texas and the Texans," explaining the part he had played in the fighting with a company of volunteers from Mississippi.

I joined the Texas army and with that company of choice adventurous spirits we served the Republic of Texas for six months. It was my good fortune to learn practically, the history of her revolution, and to make the acquaintance of many of her great men. It is my belief that no nation, or state, has ever surpassed Texas, in true courage and real sublime heroism. The names of Travis, Milam, Bowie, Crockett and Karnes, will live in history with those of the palmiest days of chivalry. . . . I knew Houston and Burleson, and the Whartons, Sheemans, Camerons, and Fisher and Meal, all distinguished as pioneer soldiers of Texas. ²⁸

Once back in Mississippi, Allen also renewed his earlier interest in acquiring real estate. Before leaving for Texas he had purchased a lot in Grand Gulf at a sheriff's sale for \$4.88. By April of 1846 he owned forty-two lots in that town, as well as lots in Port Gibson and more extensive tracts of land in Claiborne County, in Tensas Parish, Louisiana, and in Texas. His largest purchase of land, for \$5,000, was a 4,428-acre tract known as the "League of Sand" near Galveston, acquired in 1845. His largest purchase in Mississippi, a tract of 454 acres purchased from the school board of Claiborne County, was made the same year. ²⁹

These years were not devoted entirely to business, however, for in 1844 Henry Allen, the young man who had come down the river to seek his fortune, married the daughter of a Claiborne County planter.

Apprentice in Politics

SALOME ANN CRANE, whom Allen chose to marry, was an exceptionally beautiful woman. Horace S. Fulkerson remembered Salome, as he looked back across forty years, as attractive and eccentric. To this same gentleman, Allen was "impetuous, impulsive, ambitious, proud, vain and somewhat boastful, but generous, kind-hearted, and genuinely chivalrous."¹ Mrs. Dorsey, who may never have met Salome but who had ample opportunity to learn of her through Henry Allen, reported that Salome at eighteen was bright, gay, and a little coquettish. The students of Oakland College at Rodney, Mississippi, were fascinated by her dark beauty, her wit, and her willful girlishness. Henry and Salome were in love, but her parents forbade marriage and her friends advised against it. Her father apparently looked upon Allen as a fortune hunter. Her friends took another tack: there was not a man in existence to suit her, they said.²

Henry Allen and Salome Crane eloped and were married on July 2, 1844. Four days later Allen was involved in an incident which brought some rather distressing news to his wife. He was engaged in a heated conversation with a young storekeeper who later reported that he might himself have been challenged to a duel had it not been for the ensuing events. One of Allen's friends rushed up to him with the information that Dr. R. H. Marsteller (a medical doctor of Grand Gulf who had had difficulties with Allen before) "was down the street and using, in the presence of others, very abusive and insulting language about him." Allen immediately terminated the present controversy and headed for a more serious one. He was shortly facing the doctor, and "drawing two pistols from his person, presented them

handles foremost to his adversary, accompanying the act with sundry uncomplimentary observations, and winding up with the words, energetically spoken, "Take your choice, sir." "3

Before the physician had a chance to respond, a planter from across the river interposed, reminding Allen that a street fight was unbecoming. Allen, perhaps remembering the Texas incident, agreed. The planter suggested that they rely upon the dueling code. Allen was willing. He had revealed his approbation of the code in Missouri when he sought to defend his father's honor. This earlier duel had been called off upon receipt of the demanded apology, but Dr. Marsteller was in no mood to apologize and agreed to meet Allen on the field of honor at Coffee's Point, across the river, within an hour.

The town simmered with excitement. Allen and Marsteller set out in search of seconds and surgeons. Before the hour was up, from ten to fifteen skiffs had pulled to the opposite bank of the river.

Horace Fulkerson, who was at the scene, regarded the two principals with a certain amount of ambivalence. Marsteller, a bachelor of thirty, was refined, well educated, and well-bred. Unlike Allen, he was modest, taciturn, and not much of a society man. "Allen's habits were good for one of his temperament, convivial tastes and rather reckless mode of life. Marsteller had been led by his morbid sensitiveness, as was believed, into intemperance, but it was the intemperance of a gentleman."

The duel took place in a grove of cottonwood and cypress trees on the banks of the river. Allen stripped himself to the waist and seemed assured of his forthcoming success. The physician said nothing, but calmly awaited completion of the preliminary steps. He had taken off his coat and loosened his shirt collar. Marsteller, since he was the challenged party, had the right to choose the weapons and to name the distance. Instead of dueling pistols, he chose a pair of heavy pistols which were to be filled with buckshot; he chose a distance of ten feet. By noon, with all the preliminaries out of the way, the spectators moved to safety at right angles to the participants.

Allen held his pistol straight down; Marsteller held his straight up. A second called out, "Gentlemen, are you ready?" At this point Allen cried out, "Stop!" and asked the second to state again how the signal was to be given. Several of the spectators took this to be a ruse, an attempt by Allen to disconcert the doctor. The second asked

again if they were ready; this time there was no delay. He told them to fire at the count of three, and began the count.

As they stood at this moment, in the deep shadow of the tall cottonwoods, in ten feet of each other, Allen with his ferocious look, his high cheekbones, smooth face, closely-cut hair, slender, but tall, half nude form, with pistol down, and Marsteller in his shirtsleeves, with collar of the period, open, with his reddish whiskers and slightly bald head, rotund and rather heavy figure, with pistol up, calm and self-possessed, they made a picture not likely to be seen oftener than once in a lifetime.⁴

The two fired simultaneously and, for a moment, were completely enveloped in smoke. When it cleared two standing figures were disclosed, looking savagely at each other, each apparently astonished that the other was still standing, but neither more surprised than the spectators. Then Marsteller began to sink slowly to the ground. Allen turned and walked away, bloody and limping. Fulkerson later reported: "I reached him as he sat down upon a log nearby, and shall not soon forget the mingled anguish and anger of his face as he replied to my question about his wound. A single ball had passed through both thighs high up." Allen's friends helped him to his home, where his wife, unaware of the morning's happenings, was waiting.

Marsteller, struck in the hip, recovered and demanded another shot. He was informed that Allen had already been carried badly wounded from the field, but insisted that Allen be called back. Satisfaction at this time, however, was impossible. Marsteller crossed the river to his room, probed his own wound, extracted the ball, and went about his business. In the days that followed, a rather tenuous peace was maintained between the two. Marsteller continued to press for another shot. Allen was willing, but friends each time interposed.

The account by Fulkerson provides no further information about the nature, extent, or permanence of Allen's wound. Curiously, his lady biographer is somewhat more specific in a passage which may explain the look of anguish Fulkerson had seen on Allen's face. Mrs. Dorsey veils the damage with the delicacy of Latin: "*In abdominis partibus inferioribus vulneratus fuit Allen: ictu transcidente et lacerante prorsus membra vitalia.*"⁵ However, there is no conclusive evidence that Allen's manhood was affected.

In the spring of 1844, before he and Salome were married, Allen had gone to Jackson as a delegate to the Mississippi Whig convention. His interest in politics went back to his debating days in Richmond,

Missouri, and, renewing that interest as a member of the Henry Clay organization at Grand Gulf, he worked diligently for Clay's election.⁶ The following year he announced as a candidate for the office of district attorney, but, after campaigning during the summer, withdrew his candidacy and became instead an independent candidate from Claiborne County for the lower house of the Mississippi legislature. One of his opponents in the race was Dr. Marsteller. Their rivalry had progressed from the dueling field to the political arena. This time Allen won. He led the ticket in the November election, and took his seat in the legislature at Jackson in January, 1846.⁷

As a legislator Henry Allen was frequently more energetic than effective. As a Whig he was a member of the minority party and worked under considerable difficulty. He was, of course, most effective in those matters which concerned his own constituency. His record as a legislator illustrates his energy and the variety of his interests, but it also shows the negative attitude he aroused in his fellow legislators.

The house convened on Monday, January 5, 1846. At first Allen seemed to find favor in his new position. On January 7 he was appointed to the standing committee on internal improvement and that same day offered a resolution to appoint a committee on education consisting of five members. The resolution carried, and Allen was included on the committee. Under his leadership, this committee added a sixth member and was extremely active during the legislative session.⁸

A week after his appointment to the committee on education Allen reported a senate bill for the establishment of a seminary of learning in Jackson. He voted to reconsider an "Act Explanatory of an Act for the Incorporation of the University of Mississippi, approved 24 February, 1844." This resolution carried 59 to 38. His initial success was short-lived, however, and for the remainder of the day he was repeatedly disappointed. He offered a resolution to consolidate the house committees on education and internal improvement with like committees of the senate, but this resolution was defeated. He voted against a resolution concerning public land, but this passed. In the election of a public printer, Allen voted for Palmer; Price and Fall were elected. Apparently, he only found concord with his colleagues again when he moved adjournment.⁹

This session of January 14 was typical. Allen's senatorial candi-

dates had been no more successful than his candidate for printer. On January 10 the choice for United States Senator was between Henry S. Foote and George Winchester. Allen voted for Winchester; Foote was elected. The house next voted on a Senator to fill the unexpired term of Robert J. Walker. Again Allen voted for George Winchester; Joseph W. Chalmers was elected. Allen's resolution of January 14 to consolidate the house and senate committees on education and internal improvement had been defeated, but two days later the house concurred in a senate resolution consolidating the internal improvement committees and on January 27 consolidated the committees on education. It appears that the earlier measures failed because Allen introduced them. On the other hand, twice during the legislative session Allen presided over the house when it was sitting as a committee of the whole.¹⁰

The fact that Allen was not at that time an avid states-righter is indicated by his activities in the house on the fifth of March. On that date he joined seventeen others in dissent to a bill establishing four Congressional districts. They stated that in voting for the bill they did not approve that portion of the act which denied "to the Congress of the United States the authority to alter or change the 'regulation' which the state legislature may make for the election of representatives to Congress except as to the place of choosing senators." These eighteen men went on record as believing "that the section of the bill alluded to is wholly unnecessary, and indicates indisposition on the part of the state to perform her constitutional duty as one of the members of the Confederacy." Surely in this case none of them realized the connotation the word Confederacy would have fifteen years later.¹¹

In 1846 Allen returned to his home and his law practice in Grand Gulf. Although he remained politically active during the next few years, he was not a candidate for re-election to the Mississippi house in 1847. Perhaps his wife's illness prevented him from spending too much time in public life. Salome contracted tuberculosis two years after their marriage, and as her illness grew more and more acute, Allen spent as much time as possible with her.¹² In the fall of 1849 she was still feeling well enough to travel, and toward the end of November the Allens visited Natchez.¹³ During the last few months of her illness she was confined to bed, and Allen had to endure the

sorrow of watching her weaken day by day until she was unable to walk.

Mrs. Dorsey writes:

One of Salome's chief charms was her magnificent dark hair, which was remarkable for its length, beauty, and abundance. Her favorite position, in the nervousness produced by delicate health, was on a cushion on the floor, at her husband's feet, while her head, weighed down by its heavy tresses, rested on his knee; and she would make him smooth by the hour the glossy locks which fell around her, a dark and shining veil, down to the very floor. Nestled so, she would prattle and gossip like a true woman, in happy forgetfulness of all the world but him. But the brief, bright dream was soon over.¹⁴

Salome died in January, 1851, after six and a half years of childless marriage. She was buried in the family cemetery near Montgomer, her father's plantation home.¹⁵ Years later, in a letter to Salome's Aunt Clarissa, Allen recalled that the years he spent in Mississippi "were the happiest of my checkered and eventful life."¹⁶ After his wife's death he "removed his negroes to a plantation in Tensas Parish, Louisiana, trying to find distraction from his sorrows in the labor of a pioneer's life."¹⁷ But his health began to fail him. He decided to try the waters of Cooper's Well, a fashionable resort near Jackson.

In 1851, when Cooper's Well opened for the season, many visitors, including large numbers from Natchez, arrived by carriage with their servants. Some of them would spend months at the resort. On hand was Senator Henry S. Foote, who was opposing Jefferson Davis in the race for governor of Mississippi. When night came, "over five hundred ladies and gentlemen were in the ballroom and upon the galleries. Such a crowd had never before been known."¹⁸ Whether or not Allen was there for the opening of the season, he was there before it closed.

Colonel John Nolan, an aging and ailing planter of West Baton Rouge Parish, Louisiana, was also at Cooper's Well. He and Allen became good friends; and when Nolan decided to return to his home, he persuaded the young Mississippian to accompany him. Allen, having no desire to return to Grand Gulf, was perfectly willing to see what the opportunities were for a young lawyer in south Louisiana.¹⁹ Colonel Nolan made sure that the step turned out to be a profitable one.

On the 5th day of February, 1852, before Hilary Breton Cenas, Notary Public, New Orleans, La., came John Nolan, widower, of West Baton Rouge parish, who conveyed to Henry W. Allen of Claiborne County, Mississippi, and William Nolan of West Baton Rouge parish, in the proportion of an undivided half interest to each, ten tracts of land in West Baton Rouge parish, a sugar plantation known as Westover, situated on the West bank of the Mississippi River about 8 miles above the City of Baton Rouge; also other lands. Also 244 shares of Capital Stock of Citizens Bank of Louisiana, subject to a pledge on said stock of \$5,022.50. Also 125 Slaves.

The consideration for said conveyance was \$300,000.00, in liquidation of which \$300,000.00 the purchasers issued their 6 promissory notes for \$50,000,000 each, payable respectively in 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 years from date of sale. To secure the payment of said notes the vendees mortgaged the property conveyed to them for the sum of \$300,000.00 ²⁰

Henry Allen thus acquired half interest in one of the largest sugar-producing plantations in the state of Louisiana with no down payment. Involved in the sale were over twenty-five hundred acres of land with a four-mile frontage on the Mississippi River. Furthermore, Colonel Nolan stipulated that his nephew William and Allen "be indulged in if they were unable to meet the notes due, provided they paid the interest each year." ²¹

About fifteen thousand people, white and black, were then living in West Baton Rouge Parish. In the southern part of the parish was the town of Brusly, a Mississippi River landing and political center. To the northwest was the town of Grosse Tête. The oldest settlement, San Michel, just across the river from Baton Rouge, had been unfortunately situated and was gradually being destroyed by the river; by 1860 only five or six houses remained of the original town. The community which arose to take the place of San Michel eventually was called Port Allen, but in 1851 it was called West Baton Rouge.

Allen took advantage of the fact that the plantation would be superintended to do a great deal of traveling. In 1852 he sold the remainder of his Grand Gulf holdings; in May of that year he returned to Missouri. A runaway schoolboy had steamed down the Mississippi; a well-to-do sugar planter was among the four hundred dancing, drinking, gambling passengers carried north by the steamboat *Diana*, soft-carpeted below deck, cut-glass chandeliers gently swaying, and oil paintings proclaiming opulence on every stateroom door. ²²

Many changes had taken place in Allen's family as well. On Sep-

tember 29, 1848, Dr. Thomas Allen married Mrs. Sara H. Scott.²³ There is no indication that Henry Allen ever met his stepmother. In the spring of 1850 the Missouri relatives sadly notified their kinfolk elsewhere that Dr. Allen died intestate on March 13. No one knew his intentions as to the disposal of his property.²⁴ Brother Nathaniel lay in a Texas grave. William, who had survived Seminole wars in Florida, had returned home to die at the age of twenty-nine. Mary Allen and her husband were living in California. With Mary was young Richard, who at fifteen years of age had fought in the Mexican War under General Sterling Price. Allen's sister Elizabeth had also married and was living in Jefferson City, Missouri. His brother Charles, who had recently graduated from the University of Missouri, was still living at East Hill, but he was in failing health and died the next year.

Uncle Jeems, age sixty-six, was on hand to greet Henry. So was his cousin Charles Watkins, who had moved with his family from Virginia. Many other kinfolk were living in the vicinity.²⁵

Farmville, Missouri, had grown a good deal, boasting new houses, a new store, a flour mill, a warehouse, a distillery and a railroad.²⁶ Uncle Jeems had built the railroad at his own expense between 1849 and 1851. The tracks were made entirely of timber: walnut and white oak. They ran from the north bank of the Missouri River, nearly opposite Lexington, to Farmville—a distance of about four and a half miles. Uncle Jeems could make profitable use of it. He and his nephew Charles, who was closely associated with him, were doing very well. Their landholdings stretched from the foothills in Ray County southward toward Lexington, and included a large acreage of the bottom land over which the railroad passed. The Allen sawmill had helped in the construction of the Allen railroad. The new store was an Allen venture; so was the large warehouse. The railroad carried the flour to a point opposite Lexington where it was unloaded and stored in another Allen warehouse.²⁷ Henry Allen was so intrigued with this railroad that he wrote an article about it for the *St. Louis Western Journal and Civilian*. He also seems to have taken the idea back to West Baton Rouge with him.²⁸

Colonel John Nolan died in August of 1852. His nephew and Allen continued as partners until 1855, when they divided the property. During the period of partnership, Allen was a busy man. He quickly became a prominent figure in West Baton Rouge politics. On

October 2, 1852, he was the primary speaker at a Whig barbecue in the northern part of the parish; the next week he scored "a complete triumph" in a political debate in the southern part. As the presidential campaign increased in intensity at Whig rallies throughout the central part of the state, he extended his range, speaking on behalf of General Winfield Scott. The Democrats were to carry the state for Franklin Pierce by only 1,400 votes.²⁹

Allen's activities were not confined to politics. During the summer of 1852 he became interested in the construction of a plank road from the riverside near the courthouse at West Baton Rouge across the parish to the Grosse Tête region.³⁰ The same year he joined, perhaps even helped to organize, the "West Baton Rouge Porcupine Benevolent Association," which had poker games—West Baton Rouge style—as one of its primary activities. The members of this group had fancy names, among them The Great Mogul, The Duke of Argyle, Napoleon, and Guy Mannering. Whether he chose the name or had it bestowed upon him, Allen was Mannering, who occasionally reported doings of the group and of the parish to one of the Baton Rouge newspapers. When, in the spring of 1853, he began a trip through the South, he arranged to contribute an account of his travels to the Baton Rouge *Daily Comet*, using that pseudonym.³¹

Touring the South

IT WAS APRIL in New Orleans when Allen disembarked from the steamer *Bella Donna* and found the streets "deserted and the city dull." Although the season was over, he managed to amuse himself. On his first evening in New Orleans he attended a lecture by Thomas Francis Meagher, the Irish author and patriot. That same evening he went to a concert and heard the celebrated Louis Moreau Gottschalk, whom he felt "deservedly ranked the best pianist in America or perhaps the world." Allen described his evening in the first of a long series of letters to the Baton Rouge *Daily Comet* which he signed Guy Mannering.¹

While in New Orleans, he attended the races. Using the pose of Mannering, he informed his readers: "It was a luxury I thought I ought to indulge in, as I had never witnessed a horse race; being a moral young man, and raised with puritanic habits, horse racing as well as card playing has always been revolting to my feelings." It is unlikely that Allen had never seen a horse race. And he could expect many of his readers to be amused by the reference to card playing, any aversion to which he had long since overcome.

He duly reported other activities he found at the race track: "Faro banks, roulette tables, *vengt-une*, and monte tables, flitted across my vision in all the diabolical grandeur of Pandemonium itself." He remembered what his father had said about a fool and his money. However, one of the games intrigued him and he placed a ten dollar bill on the king: "Now the king is a favorite card of mine and in certain crowds around Baton Rouge three of them are worth at least

a hogshead of sugar." He lost the ten. "My dear *Comet*, New Orleans is a mighty wicked place." ²

Allen's next stop was Mobile, Alabama. There he had the companionship of a man whom he identified as "Col. M., a gay and splendid fellow. He is an old bachelor from north Alabama [who] has plenty of money in his pocket and spends it most freely." The colonel had recently returned from New Orleans, where he had become enamored of a young lady from St. Louis. Since this young lady had a beautiful sister, the colonel suggested that he and Allen go immediately to St. Louis, marry the girls, tour the North, visit the New York Fair, and from there embark on a tour of Europe. Allen declined, pleading urgent business and pressing engagements. He countered by introducing the colonel to a lady in Mobile who managed to take the colonel's mind off St. Louis for most of the rest of the day. ³

The Henry Allen revealed to us by Guy Mannering seemed continually to discover fair-haired damsels. One such he met on the steamer leaving Mobile for Montgomery: "I pressed her soft and fairy hand, that pressure was returned . . ." Once again he resisted the inclination, but admitted, "If I had not pressing business on my hands, I'd court *that* girl or die a trying." ⁴

From Montgomery, Allen traveled overland toward Georgia. At one point he missed his way, got lost, and finally asked at a small farm for a night's lodging. "The kind house-wife prepared a plain and substantial supper. Fatigue and hunger had sharpened my appetite and with the flaxen haired sons and daughters of my host, I enjoyed the homely fare, as much as I ever did one of the best dinners at your Harney House." The amazement Allen experienced in discovering good food so far away from Baton Rouge was equaled by that of his new-found friends at finding "so *fine* a looking gentleman, who lived anywhere near New Orleans." ⁵

In that same letter—written Sunday, April 17—he told the *Daily Comet*: "The tolling bell is now summoning the faithful to their house of worship. I would most cheerfully go and mingle, as in my early boyhood days, I was wont to do, with the congregation of the Lord, but fate rules my course—like the wandering Jew, I must travel." He pressed on toward Georgia.

Allen traveled from West Point to La Grange, Georgia, by stage-coach.

Our stage was crowded—I got a back seat by the side of two very fat ladies. We started off in high glee, [but] . . . the coach went down into a deep mudhole, and over we went coach and all. As ill-luck would have it, my side of the stage was at the bottom and I was at the bottom too, with my two fat lady friends weighing over 200 a piece on top of me. . . . Imagine a man of my delicate sensibilities, neatly dressed withal, at the bottom of a stagecoach, with 400 pounds of fat, human flesh upon him! . . . After I was finally rescued from this perilous situation, I must confess that I presented rather a pitiable aspect. With torn and soiled clothes, my face was bruised and my arm sprained. I . . . had nobody to blame but my fat friends. They both came up to me and with much solicitude inquired about my “bruised soul and body.” After finding that nothing serious had happened, they shook their fat sides with laughter and went almost into hysterics. I, all the while sat as demure as a church mouse, for like the boy that the cart wheel ran over, I thought I could see nothing to laugh at.⁶

When the stagecoach ride resumed, he changed his seat and sat between the two ladies. One told him: “I have a daughter, she is just grown and although I say it myself she is pretty and has a fortune.—Come to see us and I think you will be well paid for all your sprains and bruises.” By the time he reached Atlanta, Allen had forgiven them: “God bless the women, one and all, whether poor or rich, fat or lean.”

Allen, on several occasions, had commented upon the temperate habits of the people among whom he was traveling. At Double Wells, Georgia, he could understand such temperance, since the remarkable water took away “all thirst for intoxicating drinks. But if they lived on the banks of the turbid, muddy Mississippi, even these Puritanic ascetic Georgians, would . . . call as lustily for ‘cock-tails’ as any of the habitués of the Harney house.”

There was at that time considerable agitation in Georgia for legislation to prevent the sale of alcoholic beverages. Allen reacted with the ambivalence that was manifest throughout his life and with the characteristic exaggeration of Guy Mannering:

Aside from gambling, drunkenness is certainly the greatest vice of the age. . . . Crime and pauperism, domestic misery and a long list of social evils are the sure results of the sale of ardent spirits.—The high and the low, the rich and the poor, the master and the slave are alike . . . degraded victims. . . . The timid and the time-serving Politician will of course cower and dodge the question, but all good citizens should . . . destroy if possible these frightful sources of woe to the human race. . . . Personally I like a glass of good sazerac, I don’t object to a good cocktail on

certain occasions.—I even have a weakness for a bottle of iced-champagne but in my sober reflecting moments, I despise them all with holy horror.⁷

The next weekend, in Washington, Georgia, Allen made up for not going to church the previous Sunday. On Saturday evening he set out to stretch his legs, and was attracted by the loud, spirited singing at a nearby church. Upon entering, he discovered a large congregation of Negroes. To his surprise, the church seemed neat and orderly, and the preacher's sermon was logical and practical—a marked contrast to the "fire and brimstone" sermons of the white preacher he had recently encountered. "I have talked much with the people of this country on this subject and they all with one accord say that religion makes better servants of their negroes, and that they would if from no other motive but self-interest have their negroes preached to and well taught in the plan of salvation. . . . It is the duty of every master to see that his negroes are well instructed in the religion of the Gospel." The next morning Allen joined some pale-faced Presbyterians and hung, with the rest of the congregation, upon the lips of a man whose "tongue seemed tipped with living fire for one hour and a half."⁸

Allen prolonged his visit in Washington, Georgia, in order to attend the wedding of one of Robert Toombs's daughters. Festivities began at eight-thirty in the evening at the Toombs house. The wedding ceremony took place sometime after nine o'clock and was followed by dancing. At midnight supper was served. "After supper the ladies retired and left the lords of creation to their 'feast of reason and the flow of *spirits*.' Many a good song was sung, many a witty anecdote related and many a good toast drank. . . . Toombs is a noble fellow—his manners are affable, easy and elegant—with a genius of the highest order, he is the most popular man in Georgia and one of the most popular men in the United States."⁹

A few days later Allen wrote the *Daily Comet* from Jeffersonville, Georgia: "Well sir, here I am in the mountains of Georgia. . . . I have been very much troubled to find out the products of the land; but little corn or cotton is raised here and in fact very little of anything, except broom straw and white headed children." The women of the region, he reported, were expected to have at least thirteen children. Multiple births were common. The very air was "*redolent* with baby pap."

Allen assured his readers:

I am much pleased with the peasantry of Georgia—they are a hardy, industrious and generally pious race of people. Without much intelligence, they are honest, kind and hospitable. They labor in their fields and live to great years. To a stranger they are more than kind and offer him everything in their power to make his stay among them cheerful and agreeable.

They are all members of the Methodist or Baptist churches and you will ride many miles before encountering an immoral man or a drunkard. The peasant here, who has negroes treats them as his own children—they eat the same food, and all work together in the same field and like Abraham of old, the aged Father is the Patriarch of all. . . . Thus live the honest peasantry of Georgia, a race of men destined to have a controlling influence on the politics of the country.

The rich and affluent become weak and effeminate—they have but few children and most of them sicken and die, while the hardy sons of the mountains are daily turning out scores of little Locofocos. . . . I say sir, that . . . these United States of America, are bound to be locofoco. The Whig party, sir, is dead and if it is not yet dead, these same dirty faced, white-headed children will kill it.¹⁰

At Athens, Allen dined with Governor Howell Cobb of Georgia, whom he found a polished gentleman with long experience in politics, remarkably well posted, and not completely opposed to alcohol when the occasion merited good fellowship and good drink. About ten others attended the dinner, including Alexander H. Stephens, Congressman and later Vice President of the Confederacy. Of Stephens, Allen wrote:

I was never more disappointed in my life than when I was introduced to this honorable Gentleman.—He is about five feet high, very slender and delicate form, with thin visage and boyish appearance. His features are diminutive, his complexion sallow almost bordering on a deadly yellow hue. His very ears look dead and bloodless and his head is of a mangy brownish red. In fact he looks like a living dead man, like a corpse fresh from the grave. He weighs but ninety pounds and looks as if he was fed on saffron and asafoedita. But he has an eye that redeems all the rest—genius, learning and eloquence and a lofty noble spirit sparkles there. When excited in conversation he is one of the most interesting men I have ever met.¹¹

On May 4 Allen left Georgia and retraced his steps homeward. Back in New Orleans he found business dull and the streets quiet, with only a “few old red nosed habituais . . . sauntering about the coffee-houses.” His first evening there he managed to catch the final performance of Bulwer’s *Money*, and he went to hear Gottschalk play

again. The following morning he caught sight of another familiar face, that of the Alabama colonel who had returned to New Orleans. The colonel had received a letter from his beloved in St. Louis, on the strength of which Allen ordered him a suit of wedding clothes, including a white satin vest, as a present. Celebration followed, and after toasting the colonel's lady and ladies in general, his friend from Alabama was inspired: "I think I see the lofty spires of St. Louis; I think I hear the gay and noisy talk of the assembled wedding guests. Oh! Yes, I plainly see my bride, my lovely bride." The two immediately prepared to leave for St. Louis, where Allen was to be best man at the wedding.¹² If he made the trip, it was an amazingly quick one and he did not stay to marry the lovely sister. Eight days later, on May 20, he was back in West Baton Rouge.¹³

Allen returned in time to join other sugar planters of the parish in protesting what they felt to be unfair competition. An importing company, bringing molasses concentrate from the West Indies, was evading the sugar tariff laws. Allen was appointed secretary of the opposition group and was placed on a committee directed to enlarge the membership, collect funds, and retain counsel.

Randall Hunt, a New Orleans lawyer, agreed to represent the planters and assist E. Warren Moise, the Federal district attorney.¹⁴ Moise at first agreed to accept such assistance, but then wondered if they were suggesting that he was incompetent. He sat down and wrote a letter: "Gentlemen Sugar Planters of Louisiana, you are a set of ignorant ill-bred asses; you know nothing of the courtesies or common usages of civilized life; you are a set of factious, lawless, clod-polls, who have dared to meet together in conventions and interfere with me, E. W. Moise, one of the District Attorneys of the United States of America. You impudent, Blockheads."¹⁵

Allen responded in kind:

No man dreamed that your fastidious sensibilities would be disturbed, or that your frothy vanity would receive the slightest wound; we thought that a gentleman . . . who had heretofore had his washing done in the Parish of Plaquemines, slept in Jefferson, drank his claret in the Citizens Bank and practiced law in New Orleans, and electioneered promiscuously, largely and generally, over the state, and now wants to be the next governor thereof, we thought, sir, under all these circumstances, you would be glad to receive the assistance of even as humble an individual as Randall Hunt.¹⁶

The case never got to court, nor to fisticuffs, because the board of

appraisers in New Orleans settled the trouble by raising the import duty on the disputed product to equal that of regular sugar.¹⁷

Allen remained in West Baton Rouge for two busy weeks, not restricting himself solely to activities on behalf of the protesting sugar planters. The Grosse Tête and Baton Rouge Plank Road Company again demanded his attention. The need for such a road was apparent, since neither railroad nor stage road existed and for several months of each year Bayou Grosse Tête was too low to provide adequate water transportation. The company was granted its charter in 1853 with a capital stock of \$2,500, one-fifth of which the state bought. However, it was rumored that the plank road would not be completed in time for the anticipated celebration on July 6. Henry Allen wrote the *Daily Comet* to reassure its readers that a misunderstanding between the contractor and the director had caused the delay but that it had been settled and the work was proceeding. The celebration, he assured them, would be worth attending:

For the "*bon vivants*" we will have turtle soup, venison steaks and truffles, boiled trout and court-bouillon, iced-juleps and hot coffee. For the literary and sedate we will have a fine oration [by Henry W. Allen] interlarded with patriotism, sentiment and pathos. For the gay, the lively and the "*bien vite*" we will have excellent songs, sad and sentimental, music and dancing, courtship and flirtation.—For the *scientific* and the *fancy*, there will be "*tableaux vivant*" and a small set of *draw a la Porcupine*, Come one, come all.¹⁸

During the same period Guy Mannering reported regularly on the activities of the West Baton Rouge Porcupine Benevolent Association. Stories on the initiation of new members, humorous accounts of their card games and personalities, kept the general public entertained.

Following one of these meetings Allen boarded the steamer *Reindeer* and resumed his travels with another visit to Cooper's Well. A week later he was back in Natchez. He had business to transact and expected later that day, June 16, to catch the steamer *Empress* and proceed upriver in company with an old friend, Thomas Freeland, who had been cordial to young Allen when he first arrived in Grand Gulf and who was on his way to the springs in Virginia. Allen had spent some time in Vicksburg the previous day in the company of other friends from Mississippi.¹⁹

Freeland apparently left the steamer at Memphis, but Allen en-

joyed the trip so much that he extended it as far as Paducah, Kentucky. From Paducah he went to Evansville and the next letter he posted was from St. Louis. There Mannering was disturbed when the face of an old friend reminded him of Time's role: "Don't you," he asked, in a letter to the *Daily Comet*, "dread the day when you and I shall be . . . bent down to earth with bodily infirmities? For my part I never intend to get old. I intend to enjoy life while a spark lasts—I intend to be cheerful and gay, and if possible happy till the last sand of life is run out." Before leaving St. Louis, Allen called upon another friend, a beautiful and accomplished lady with a rich, melodic voice. This belle of St. Louis sang and played for Guy Mannering until the bell of the steamer *Illinois* tolled her passengers on board.²⁰

Allen came downriver in time to take charge of the program and to prepare his speech for delivery on July 6 at the plank road celebration. Once again his stay at home was brief. He remained a week in West Baton Rouge—long enough to do some campaigning, to catch up on his newspaper reading, and to read Charlotte Brontë's new novel *Villette*, which so impressed him that he sat down immediately and wrote a rave notice to the *Daily Comet*.²¹

Passing through New Orleans on his way to Pass Christian on the Mississippi coast, Allen reported: "Nothing greets the eye of the stranger but the nodding plume of the sable hearse, for that dread scourge of all Southern cities—the Yellow Fever is now raging with increased fury.—There are daily 25 or 30 persons sent to their long, long home. . . ." ²²

Allen's next stop was Point Clear, Alabama, near Mobile. From the Gulf Coast he went north, visiting Cooper's Well again and enjoying visits with his old friend John J. Perkins, Jr., of Madison Parish, Louisiana, and with Governor Henry S. Foote of Mississippi. Allen wrote the *Daily Comet* that he had visited Governor Foote while on an excursion from Cooper's Well: "We went with a party of ladies to Jackson, Mississippi, and spent the day. . . . We called on Governor Foote, and were received with great courtesy and much hospitality. . . . I take Gov. Foote to be one of the first men of the Union. . . . On the stump, for wit, sarcasm and fearless inviction he has no equal." ²³

Allen was disturbed to find, upon returning home, that yellow fever had broken out in Baton Rouge. On September 21 he notified

the *Daily Comet* that the fever had crossed the river to West Baton Rouge. One young neighbor was dead and several were ill. "I never saw a case of the yellow fever before—Tis a horrid death to die! Cold chills and burning fevers, black vomit and convulsions! Save me from such a death, rather a thousand times the cold steel or 'swift winged lead.' In case the disease becomes epidemic here, where oh, where can the people fly to? . . . There only hope is, to trust in Him who rules the skies and keep their cabins clean."²⁴ The fever did not spread.

Allen would steam north again before the year's end, but for the next several weeks there was much to do at home. He and his colleagues were planning a railroad to connect the Grosse Tête region with West Baton Rouge. These plans did materialize, but completion of the railroad was still several years away. During the fall of 1853 Allen also kept his hand in politics and, although not a candidate, took the stump on behalf of the Whig ticket.²⁵ In addition, there was the West Baton Rouge Porcupine Benevolent Association.

In spite of Allen's apparent neglect of his plantation, it does not seem to have suffered. Colonel John Nolan had been one of the leading sugar producers in West Baton Rouge. In 1851 his plantation had produced six hundred hogsheads—more than any other plantation in the parish. In their first year of operation Allen and William Nolan ranked second in the parish, with 835 hogsheads; the next year they were first, with 1,150 hogsheads. After they dissolved their partnership and divided the estate, Allendale, under Allen's management, continued to be a leading sugar-producing plantation. And Allen was one of the most avid spokesmen in the press, in public, and in private for the Louisiana sugar interests.

During his tour of the South, Allen had shown a continued, or a revived, interest in the ladies. This, in part at least, may be attributed to the pose he assumed as Guy Mannering. Sarah Dorsey's recollections include two pertinent items. "Allen," she wrote, "was engaged to be married, for a short time, to a lady still living; but He [the deified Allen?] was not destined to be fortunate in *les affaires du coeur*—circumstances were unpropitious, the engagement was broken off, and the lady married another person. Allen never again attempted to renew his domestic ties." It is difficult to say whether this had anything to do with her statement elsewhere that "he became unfortunately involved in the domestic dissensions of one of

his [West Baton Rouge] neighbors, whose wife wished to marry him to her daughter." His rather imprudent actions in the affair produced a quarrel which ended in divorce between the parents. The experience left Allen somewhat sobered and less vain.²⁶ Mrs. Dorsey's comments, read in context, suggest that these events happened during or before 1853. The latter situation might well explain Allen's eagerness to be away from West Baton Rouge during 1853 and 1854.

It was in 1853 that Allen met Sarah Dorsey for the first time. Many of her relatives had been among his acquaintances since his days in Grand Gulf. Sarah's mother was a Routh, a family which Sarah herself characterized as "numerous, gay, and hospitable; fond of good living, and of having their friends about them, to aid in the enjoyment of well-stocked cellars; abundant tables, billiard-rooms, libraries, and fast horses." This does not appear to have been an exaggeration, and, as Mrs. Dorsey also pointed out, "Capt. Allen liked all these things."²⁷

At the outbreak of the War Between the States, the Routh family cultivated twenty thousand acres of land and owned more than five thousand slaves. A contemporary noted that in the area around Lake St. Joseph the family had some fifteen houses and that during the winter several entire families from other states joined those living in them. "Their days and nights were one series of revelry and enjoyment, with dinners, balls, picnics, horse-racing, cock-fighting, boat races with crews composed of their slaves."²⁸

John Routh, Sarah's uncle, was known as "The Cotton King." Prior to the war his cotton crop amounted to nearly nine thousand bales in one year. He entertained lavishly—his silver dinner service alone was said to be valued at \$35,000.²⁹

Sarah Anne, the eldest child of Thomas and Mary Magdalene Routh Ellis, was born February 16, 1829. Her father died when she was nine years old, leaving his young wife with four children. Her mother subsequently married again. Sarah's stepfather was Charles G. Dahlgren, whose father was the first Swedish Consul to the United States.³⁰

In 1853 Sarah Anne was twenty-four years old and unmarried. She was well educated, her friends acknowledged her encyclopedic mind, and her daily conversation gave ample evidence of her love for reading. One acquaintance admitted that he had "sometimes, when in her society, been reminded of Sidney Smith's remark about

memory—when he termed it a wondrous engine of social oppression.” The same person, however, found her to be “frank, eager, and artless as a child.”³¹

Toward the end of her life, it would be pointed out that Sarah Dorsey was “by no means a ‘literary lady,’ as that term is often used, priding herself much upon her domestic qualities, being a nurse for the sick, a good friend, an excellent housekeeper, and when it is necessary, a superb cook.” But not all of this was apparent in 1853.

Exactly when Sarah Dorsey met Henry Allen for the first time is not known. It might have been during one of his upriver trips, perhaps when he visited with his friend John J. Perkins, Jr. (Perkins was also a lifelong friend of Sarah Dorsey.) In her *Recollections*, Mrs. Dorsey indicates that Allen was a guest of the Routh family during the Christmas season of 1853, when John Routh welcomed the family “around his splendid board.” On such occasions nearly a hundred members of the Routh family gathered, and John Routh “would ordinarily add an ‘outside’ friend or so. These invitations were always esteemed a special honor by the favored guests, as, with these limited exceptions, birthright alone gave the entree to the brilliant festival.”³²

After describing the Routh family Christmas reunion, Sarah adds that Allen was a frequent guest there, and also at the evening dances. Once again Allen had demonstrated his uncanny ability to be invited and accepted into exclusive social circles. The Rouths liked the gay, light-hearted abandon with which he threw himself into any social amusement. Mrs. Dorsey recalled:

We used to laugh at his vehement dancing. He would insist on making “*all the steps*,” which, however actively and skilfully performed, was somewhat startling and amusing, when it was the fashion to glide through a Quadrille with as little perceptible motion of the feet as was possible. But He did not mind our laughing—He *wouldn’t walk*—He *danced*, according to rule, in an altogether wonderful way. He was especially fond of Polkas, reels, and all sorts of round dances. . . . From his bright gray eyes, in those days, there certainly looked forth a winged soul, and in beholding his marvelous pirouettes, I used to think, like Mercury, he also had *winged feet*!³³

North and East

SARAH DORSEY'S DESCRIPTION of Henry Allen as he appeared in 1853 helps to explain why the name Guy Mannering was attached to him: "Allen was five feet ten inches high, very erect, slight, muscular in make; had high cheek-bones, denoting his Scotch extraction, bright gray eyes, fair hair and moustache; his mouth was large, mobile, and expressive, his chin square and firm. He was exceedingly neat in his person, and careful in dress. Like an antique knight, he appreciated 'bravery' in externals as much as 'bravery' in spirit. He was very observant of such matters, especially of delicacy of taste and daintiness of apparel and person in women."

Mrs. Dorsey was impressed that Allen liked whatever "was refined, spirituelle, dainty, in womanhood," and, equally important, that he also "*worshipped intellect.*"¹

When Allen met her for the first time, she was engaged (or possibly recently married) to Samuel Dorsey, eighteen years her senior. Their married life, described by a contemporary as "smooth and unruffled,"² lasted until Dorsey's death twenty-two years after their wedding. The comment on their marriage is partially corroborated by Mrs. Dorsey's reference, after thirteen years of being wed, to the "usual monotony of conjugal relations."³

In the spring of 1854 Sarah Dorsey learned that the dashing Henry Allen wanted to return to college. "Perhaps Plutarch, who studied Latin 'so late in life,' and Cato, the censor, who learned Greek when he was an old man, would not have considered this act unworthy of a wise man; but we, in the nineteenth century," Mrs. Dorsey ex-

plained, "regard such conduct as eccentric, to say the least." ⁴ Allen, thirty-four years old, nevertheless left Louisiana and journeyed north to enroll as a student at Harvard. ⁵ As Guy Mannering, Allen reported this trip to one of the Baton Rouge newspapers. He was greatly impressed with the "rich spring grass" which spread like a velvet carpet between St. Louis and Chicago. He was even more impressed with teeming Chicago itself, its 75,000 industrious inhabitants, and the fifty trains which arrived each day loaded with people and produce. He generally approved of its theater fare. "But," Guy Mannering wrote the *Daily Comet*, "I saw one thing in Chicago, which I never saw anywhere else. A ballet girl came out to dance . . . lightly and hastily dressed in gauze and gossamer, but she had no pantaletts on her unmentionable." She danced the Highland Fling, which, Mannering reported, only served to focus attention on "the naked buff itself." The gentlemen, he added, all applauded, "while the ladies and *myself* rather hung our heads." ⁶

After stops in Toledo and Cleveland, Allen traveled by rail to Baltimore. He was astonished not only at the expenditure of money and labor which this road, running over and through mountains, represented, but also at the amount of freight. "New Orleans will not for a little while feel the effects, but in course of time . . . all heavy freights will take a northern flight, and most seriously affect our great Southern emporium." ⁷

Sightseeing occupied Allen in Baltimore. His visit coincided with that of Millard Fillmore, but he did not find the opportunity to meet the former President. Among the people he met and talked to in Washington, his next stop, were President Franklin Pierce, against whom he had campaigned so diligently, and Secretary of State William L. Marcy. Allen wrote the *Daily Comet*: "I found the President an affable, agreeable gentleman, and although prejudiced against him, I left the White House with my feelings much changed in regard to him personally. With Marcy I am much pleased. He is certainly the great man of the cabinet, and in fact the only statesman among them all."

Although the United States Senate failed to impress him, Allen grudgingly admitted that Senator Stephen A. Douglas, whom he had always regarded as "an immense demagogue, and an unscrupulous partisan of the pot house order," wielded great influence in the na-

tion's capital. Douglas, Allen told the *Daily Comet*, "is a short legged, big headed, boyish looking chap, and resembles very much our esteemed fellow citizen, T. B. Thorpe, Esqr." ⁸

Allen claimed to have visited "all the public buildings in Washington," and, considering his characteristic thoroughness, this was probably true. The White House he found unimpressive. An equestrian statue of General Jackson was "a perfect humbug": the horse's tail was ten times too large in order to balance the statue on its pedestal. He did approve of the landscaping around the White House and the departmental buildings and, architecturally, of the Patent Office and the not-yet-completed Smithsonian Institution.

A few days later, on May 20, he arrived in New York City. "New York," he wrote, "is the place." He had ridden "ten miles up Broadway and found no end to the eternal city." Trinity and Grace churches were "magnificent models of elegance in architecture." The people, on a Sunday morning, "look well dressed and healthy, and walk as if the very devil was after them." Departing from the usual Mannering attitude toward the opposite sex: "I came very near being run over two or three times today . . . by women!" He reported that "women here have very large feet . . . and when they tread on your toes, it is . . . a flat savage crushing tread." Nevertheless, he planned to visit the Crystal Palace, Tammany Hall, the Tombs, the Five Points, and other points of interest before leaving the next day. ⁹

Allen arrived at Cambridge late in May. Almost immediately he became involved in one of the most sensational fugitive slave trials in American history. According to the Compromise of 1850, it was the duty of the Federal government to assist slaveowners in the recovery of runaway slaves. Abolitionists disapproved. Many of the Northern states enacted personal liberty laws to nullify the Federal Fugitive Slave Act by requiring a jury trial and refusing to allow state officials to cooperate in the apprehension of runaway slaves, or to use local jails for their confinement. In May, 1854, two Virginians, Charles R. Suttle and William Brent, arrived in Boston to seize a fugitive slave named Anthony Burns. The Federal marshal obligingly jailed Burns on May 26, and protest was immediate. Suttle and Brent were in turn arrested, charged with kidnaping, and placed under \$5,000 bonds. Henry Allen, barely arrived in Massachusetts, came forward to guarantee the bonds. ¹⁰

Excitement in Boston was intense. The American Anti-slavery So-

ciety drew three thousand people to Faneuil Hall. Such noted abolitionists as Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Francis W. Bird, Stephen S. Foster, and William Lloyd Garrison were in attendance. Tempers were heated and the speeches were inflammatory. At the point of adjournment word was received of a disturbance at the jail, which was located in the courthouse. Many of the abolitionists rushed toward the courthouse and tried to gain entry by smashing doors and windows. Before the violence subsided, James Batchelder, a Federal marshal, lay dead and two companies of the United States Marines had been summoned from the Boston Naval Yard to restore order. There were no further outbreaks of violence, but several hundred people thronged around the courthouse the next day. The case was postponed from Saturday until Monday to allow tempers to cool.

The trial occupied much of Allen's attention during the next week. It began on Monday with Charles M. Ellis and Richard Dana, Jr., counseling Anthony Burns, and B. F. Hallett, the United States district attorney, representing Suttle and Brent. On Friday, June 2, Judge Edward Greeley Loring acknowledged Burns to be a slave and ordered him delivered into the custody of his owner. On Saturday, as twenty thousand people milled through the streets, a detachment of soldiers and a hundred armed men escorted Burns past buildings decked with mourning and beneath a symbolically bound American flag toward a waiting ship. Church bells tolled mournfully in Boston and other Massachusetts towns and, as might be expected, a letter from Henry Allen appeared in the *Boston Post*.

The *Post* had been critical of the activities of the abolitionists throughout the Burns affair and Allen felt an affinity for Charles Greene, its editor. "Gentlemen:" he wrote,

At the request of my friends Colonel Suttle and Mr. Brent . . . I write you this The United States Commissioner . . . has given his decision, and the fugitive, Anthony Burns, is on his way back to Virginia. No man in Boston can fairly say he did not have an impartial trial. . . . when I shall return to my own state, I can say to Louisianians that Boston is a law-abiding city and that I have seen the rights of the Southern men respected and firmly maintained—that the order loving citizens of Boston, in the broad noon of day, executed the constitutional law of the land.¹¹

Allen added that he was authorized to advise "the kind-hearted and philanthropic ladies and gentlemen who . . . were anxious to purchase the freedom of Burns . . . that after his return to Virginia they can

fulfil their benevolent wishes." He concluded by assuring "the gentlemen of the Boston press who have sustained the law" that the whole country was in their debt.

Allen's letter did not go unnoticed, and on June 6 he wrote a second in answer to his critics. Among other things, he pointed out that Colonel Suttle had not consented to sell Burns to those who would free him because the statutes of Massachusetts "provided that any person selling a slave in Massachusetts is liable to fine and imprisonment" and that he, Allen, had so advised the colonel.¹² Two days later, the *Boston Advertiser* retorted that the money had not been subscribed to purchase Burns but to enable him to purchase his freedom. The paper added that Colonel Suttle must have had poor legal advice.¹³

On the same day, the *Commonwealth* took note of "that mythical character, 'H. W. Allen of Louisiana' [who had] made his appearance in the *Post*." The mythical Allen, it said, was part of a scheme to absolve District Attorney Hallett of guilt in the Burns affair.¹⁴ On June 9 Allen replied to questions raised both in the *Evening Transcript* and the *Commonwealth* by writing a letter to the *Post* which included some data for those who thought him fictional: he was currently residing in Cambridge and expected to spend the summer there.¹⁵ A few days later the *Commonwealth* still was not completely convinced that an H. W. Allen actually existed, but nevertheless attacked him editorially.

The *Commonwealth* continued this attack against Allen, the forces with which he was aligned, and "bought papers" like the *Post*.¹⁶ About five weeks later, Allen responded with a lengthy letter addressed to the editors of the *Commonwealth*. "You have," he said, "done me the honor of using my name very freely in your paper. . . . 'Villian,' 'Dog,' and 'Slaveholder' dance through your learned editorials in . . . metaphorical confusion." He did not deny that he was a slaveholder. "I own my slaves by the title of inheritance and purchase. . . . My negroes are well clothed and well fed. They have never known want or suffered from neglect. They have religious instruction, and their piety . . . will compare most favorably with their pseudo-friends of the North. In sickness I tend to them, and in old age I . . . provide for them, and while you are abusing, they . . . are daily praying for their master's welfare." The letter also revealed that Allen planned a trip to Europe, although nothing indicates that these

plans came to fruition. During his absence, he informed the editors, he expected them "to kick up a row occasionally at Fanueil Hall, and steal a negro or two." If they were run out of Boston, as they should be, they could come to Baton Rouge! "I will employ you both as overseers of my negroes. I think you would make admirable drivers—the worst abolitionists generally do." As a memento, he included a lock of the hair of their "Slaveholder to command, H. W. Allen, of Louisiana."¹⁷

Whether or not he had been able to accomplish much as a student at Harvard, Henry Allen had learned a great deal when he returned to Louisiana in the fall of 1854. Little is known of his journey southward, although a letter written by his Aunt Judith on August 26 states that at that time he was still touring the North and that he was expected to come through Missouri on his way home.¹⁸

Slaveholder to Command

WHEN HENRY ALLEN and William Nolan dissolved their partnership in 1855, the northern and western half of the estate, including the plantation home Westover, went to Nolan. Allen rounded out his half with the acquisition of additional land and the construction of a home for himself, cabins for his Negroes, some barns, a sugar mill, a saw mill, and whatever else was needed to make an operative sugar plantation. He called his new home Allendale.

The house itself was of colonial architecture. Three stories of cypress, white with green trim, stretched between the brick basement and the balustraded observatory on the roof. The galleries on the first and second stories at the front were supported by six round columns. Square pillars supported the porches attached to each story at the back. Five arched dormer windows projected from each side of the roof, the middle window in each case being broader and higher. Two brick chimneys fingered the sky at either end of the house.

The rooms in the basement were used primarily for the storage of cloth, farm implements, and provisions. There were two rooms under the back gallery. One of these was a bathroom, equipped with a tub and shower; the other was a wine cellar. Broad steps led from the ground to the long gallery across the front of the house. From there, one entered a central hall with two rooms on either side and a flight of stairs leading to the floor above. The parlor and dining room, separated by sliding doors, were to the left; the library and Allen's bedroom, to the right. The four rooms on the second story were for guests, as were two on the third. The remaining room on the third story occupied an entire side of the house. It was a game room with a billiard

table and other equipment. From the hallway of the third story one could ascend to the observatory.

Henry Allen was proud of Allendale with its slate and copper roof, plastered walls, oak doors, mahogany balustrades, black marble hearths, expansive windows, and brass fittings. The house was completely and tastefully furnished.¹

The master of Allendale liked to be entertained, but equally enjoyed serving as host. He opened his home to friends and neighbors and increased his popularity with the young people of the neighborhood by allowing them "to keep their dancing-schools in his large apartments, and to use his Bachelor establishment pretty much as they pleased."² Allen had frequent guests from New Orleans and occasionally entertained a relative from Missouri or Virginia. A man well-known and widely traveled was bound to have many visitors.

Entertaining and being entertained did not, however, prevent attention to business. In January, 1855, the sugar planters of Louisiana had gathered to discuss the limited amount of storage space provided at the port of New Orleans. The city had not only refused to increase storage space but had enacted an ordinance which required, because of the limited space, that no shipment of sugar remain on the levee more than thirty-six hours. A committee of planters and merchants was established to investigate the possibility of coming to terms with New Orleans officials or of making plans to establish a sugar market elsewhere. The committee was also authorized to secure a charter for a sugar planters' association from the legislature. Allen closed the meeting with a stirring plea for united action by the planters.

The planters assembled again in New Orleans on April 11, at which time a proposal was made to establish storage and shipping facilities across the river from the city. The group also proceeded with plans for chartering and organizing the planters' association. Soon after the adjournment of the meeting, however, the city of New Orleans conceded additional space and the planters were appeased.³

By 1855 Allen had deserted the disintegrating Whig ship, caught in the whirlpool of Northern conscience and Southern cotton, and had joined the American or Know-Nothing Party, which met in New Orleans in July of that year to name its state ticket. Charles Derbigny of New Orleans was nominated for governor, and Allen's friend Randall Hunt became a candidate for attorney general.⁴ Allen was considered for nomination to the house of representatives and had

some support in the press. The New Orleans *Daily Crescent* proclaimed him a gentleman, a scholar, a fine writer, and a man of practical experience. His friends on the Baton Rouge *Daily Comet* agreed that he was "a polished gentleman; one both worthy and well qualified, and being 'a planter' . . . identified permanently with the interest of Louisiana."⁵ When the district convention met in Vidalia on July 28, however, Allen lost the nomination, only to be selected shortly thereafter by the state senatorial district convention as a candidate for the senate. His Democratic opponent was Barton Simmes of Pointe Coupee.

The campaign was spirited. Allen made speech after speech, waxing in eloquence to the point where he reportedly could hold an audience spellbound for two hours. The New Orleans *Daily Crescent*, commenting on his power and eloquence, praised his yeoman service in advancing the cause of the American Party.⁶ Such was not enough. Allen and most of the party candidates outside of New Orleans were not elected. Inertia and distrust combined to defeat them at the polls.

After the election, there was considerable excitement because of charges and countercharges of fraud in New Orleans, where the American Party had fared better than elsewhere in the state. The legislature expelled the newly elected sheriff from office; the senate refused to accept three American Party members from New Orleans; and the house cast out one representative from that city. When the citizens of New Orleans voted for city officials in June, 1856, however, the complete American Party slate was elected. This success added to party enthusiasm as the presidential election neared. Henry Allen was one of the presiding officials at the state convention of the American Party which met in Baton Rouge in June. The convention adopted a resolution favoring the candidacy of Millard Fillmore, abolished all secret organizations which had made the party liable to criticism, and adopted the platform which had been formulated at the national meeting in Philadelphia. Allen had the last spot on the program, and delivered, according to the press, "one of those 'telling' speeches for which he is remarkable."⁷

His effectiveness on the speaker's platform was described and explained in some part by Sarah Dorsey in a passage which contemporaries of Allen quoted with approbation:

His style of oratory . . . was peculiar—full of energy and excitement—made up of short, curt phrases, a conglomerate of rapid thoughts, fanci-

ful, almost exaggerated illustration; an occasional sentence of striking beauty, melody, and deep pathos—interlarded with bits of verse, or peculiar quotations from all sorts of authors—bursting out frequently into the most fervid, impassioned appeals to all that was high, romantic, noble, true, and patriotic in man's nature—vehement, earnest, impulsive, declamatory—very unequal, sometimes rising into loftiest eloquence, then sinking into mere spouting—but always exciting, almost enthralling to his auditors, who never were allowed to become *cool* enough for any sense of criticism. With a queer sort of whimsical, rare simplicity and singleness of idea and utterance, with *no sense of the humorous*—honest, intense, going straight to the centre of things—fearless, audacious, spirited in gesture, never ungraceful,—Henry Allen's speeches were as unique as he himself was in every thing else.⁸

In this manner, Allen addressed the delegates at the state convention of the American Party as they prepared to leave for home. The Democratic rivals, he told them, were supporting “a very singular ticket—a kind of kangaroo affair, with its longest and strongest legs behind. The Old Foggy, its head, and Young America for its tail. For Mr. [John C.] Breckinridge, I have a very high regard. He is a man of intellect, a man of genius—a man of mark. But Mr. [James] Buchanan will not do. He never had the confidence of the American people, and never will.”⁹

Buchanan, Allen told his listeners, was opposed to the Monroe Doctrine, which had “never been fairly before Congress but once, and that was in the celebrated Panama case, when . . . the Democratic candidate for President, *spoke against, voted against and defeated it.*”¹⁰ (A decade later, Henry Allen himself concluded that “the Monroe Doctrine is a bloated humbug. Its gasbag will be punctured by the good sense of the American people.”¹¹

“I come now, gentlemen,” said Allen, “to the State policy of Louisiana. To the beautiful workings of the democracy in our own State. We have been told that the American Party, at least in Louisiana, is dead, aye, dead and buried. Gentlemen, do you believe it?”¹² (“There was once in the United States,” said Allen ten years later, “a Native American party. They used the Argument of ‘America for Americans’—‘Put none on guard but Americans,’ etc., etc.—these were political claptrap arguments used for party effect, but which the people of that great nation soon swept away.”¹³)

It would, however, be unfair to juxtapose the two statements in the paragraph above without further comment. The Know-Nothings

of Louisiana were in some respects a breed apart. Anti-Catholicism, for example, could hardly be said to exist among the members in Louisiana when, in 1855, one of the six Louisiana representatives sent to the national convention—Charles Gayarré—was a Catholic. The national body, on the other hand, refused to accept Gayarré as a delegate, which handicapped the party locally.

Henry Allen in 1856 hastened to assure his listeners and the press that “we have among us Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants, and a host of respectable sinners in good standing.”¹⁴ To see proscription and persecution, one should look at the governor of Louisiana and the state legislature, not at the American Party. Allen went on to protest the unseating of party members in the legislature and to press countercharges of Democratic corruption. In conclusion, he returned to the national scene:

When I look back to the time when Millard Fillmore retired from the administration of this Government . . . when I compare the close of Mr. Fillmore’s administration with the close of Gen. Pierce’s, a feeling of sadness, of melancholy, crosses my soul. Mr. Fillmore left the country prosperous and happy; his compromise resolutions had healed the unfortunate sectional differences that previously existed, while his foreign policy had secured peace with all the world. Alas! how changed within a few years. At this very moment there is civil war in our own country—American blood is daily shed by American hands. The end is not yet.—Civil war may continue to rage until State after State may be involved. . . . Who strikes for Union? Friend, whoever thou art, I am with thee. Union is our watchword. . . .

Thou, too, sail on, Oh ship of State!
Sail on, Oh Union strong and great,
Humanity with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years
Is hanging breathless on thy fate.¹⁵

Allen was to reconsider these sentiments only half a decade later.

In 1857 an effort was made in Congress to repeal the duty on sugar. The planters of West Baton Rouge Parish, their interests threatened, once again assembled. Allen, whom the New Orleans *Daily Crescent* credited with doing more than anyone else to protect and advance the sugar interest, explained the issues involved. A committee of which he was a member then proceeded to commit the will of the convention to writing. Their statement protested that the 30 per cent ad valorem duty was barely adequate and that, with seed cane depreciating and frost killing the crop, Louisiana sugar planters

could hardly exist without the duty on sugar. They added, however, that though they did not advocate Congress' removing all duties and discontinuing the current system of imports, neither would they object if it were done. This document was sent to all Congressmen from Louisiana, who were pleased to report somewhat later that the tariff bill which had threatened the planters had been defeated.¹⁶

Work on the Grosse Tête and West Baton Rouge Railroad was completed and by the middle of June, 1857, the railroad company's single locomotive began its daily run. Allen was prominent in the Fourth of July festivities at Grosse Tête celebrating the completion of the railroad.¹⁷ His presence had some political overtones since he was an announced candidate for the state legislature on the American Party ticket. In reporting Allen's nomination, the *West Baton Rouge Sugar Planter* had offered its support to a man "known all over the state as a brilliant and beautiful speaker, and emphatically a man of our times."¹⁸ The parish, the *Sugar Planter* felt sure, would be proud to have Allen represent it in the general assembly. The parish concurred; Allen scored a decisive victory in the fall election despite the fact that the majority of American Party candidates were defeated. The Democrats won all of the state offices and a majority in both houses of the legislature.¹⁹

Once again Allen was in a minority within a state legislature, but in the intervening years he had become more politically effective and adaptable. Fluent in oratory, keen in debate, able to lead, conscientious in the support of desirable legislation affecting his parish and his state, he could not be ignored. His name frequently appeared in the *House Journal* and "Guy Mannering" disappeared from the columns of the press.

In February of 1858 Allen introduced a measure designed to retaliate against Massachusetts, whose "Personal Liberty Laws" he had found so irritating. He proposed a 50 per cent tax on articles manufactured in Massachusetts and offered for sale in Louisiana, and sought to deny citizens of Massachusetts the help of the state courts in collecting debts in Louisiana. This bill did not pass, and Allen was criticized by most of the press. There was some approval, however, and the editor of the *Bossier Banner* proclaimed that "such men as Col. Allen are worth a host of Union loving cowards."²⁰

During the first session of the legislature Allen was appointed to four standing committees: public buildings, parochial affairs, federal

relations, and banks and banking. With the exception of the committee on parochial affairs, he served on these committees for the next four years. In 1860 he became chairman of the federal relations committee, and also chairman of numerous special committees, frequently presiding over the house when it sat as a committee of the whole.

In January of 1859 Allen and four other members of the American Party joined with the Democrats to enable them to elect Judah P. Benjamin as United States Senator. During that year Allen moved closer to the Democratic viewpoint and by December was recognized as a Democrat, at which point he assumed the role of administration floor leader. In December he was a member of the joint committee which invited General Winfield Scott to address the state assembly. Allen was prominently mentioned for speaker before the meeting of the legislature in 1860, but because of poor health he did not seek the office.²¹

Allen served on the public buildings committee with diligence and enthusiasm. Baton Rouge had been the capital since 1846, but very little had been done to maintain the capitol building or to landscape the grounds. One reason for this had been the continual lobbying to return the capital to New Orleans. With the passing of a decade, however, people began to accept the move to Baton Rouge as permanent, and some remodeling was done in 1858. It was also recommended that Hiram Powers' statue of George Washington, commissioned by the legislature of 1848 and completed in 1854, be placed in the rotunda.

The legislature had authorized improvement and landscaping of the capitol grounds in 1857, but nothing was done about that until the following year. Allen, who had been impressed by landscaping in the national capital, was one of the most active members of the public buildings committee. He made at least one trip to Cuba with the ostensible purpose of procuring seeds, plants, and trees, and took great pride in the capitol grounds. When asked why, he replied that he was "building a monument of evergreens and flowers."²² Allen was instrumental in securing the services of a full-time gardener and had the duties of the house sergeant-at-arms extended to include the protection of the grounds from vandalism.

By the middle of summer, 1859, the plants, shrubs, and flowers were daily attracting visitors to the State House. Allen, however, was

not there to see his garden grow: he had left for Europe at the end of the legislative session. Some incentive for the trip abroad may have been provided by the Federal government, which had placed him under indictment for importing slaves.²³ Before his departure, however, the West Baton Rouge *Sugar Planter* announced his candidacy for re-election in the fall and urged everyone, irrespective of party, to support him.²⁴

Allen left New York on July 6, 1859, and returned to the United States late in November of the same year. He reported his European travels in a series of letters to the Baton Rouge *Weekly Advocate* which were later published as *The Travels of a Sugar Planter or, Six Months in Europe*.²⁵

Six Months in Europe

THE STEAMER *Persia* docked at Liverpool four hours late, after having been delayed by icebergs off the coast of Newfoundland. Allen enjoyed the crossing. Not only had the icebergs added excitement but many friends and acquaintances were aboard—among them Judah P. Benjamin, the Senator from Louisiana, who was somewhat in his debt. Allen also had the opportunity to meet a number of distinguished strangers. To some of these he talked politics, to others he offered entertainment “in true West Baton Rouge style” with draw poker.

An examination of the extensive dock facilities of Liverpool, Allen reported, was worth the trip abroad, for about these and other buildings hung an air of permanency which awed him. He approved of the menu. The English, he noted, knew how to roast a beef, although they had a great deal to learn about mint juleps. From Liverpool, Allen traveled through Wales and then crossed to Ireland, where he was captured by the beauty of the land and by the rich Irish brogue. He found Dublin “a great city” despite its antiquity and its lack of improvements. “I spent three days in the city, and . . . could only find one new house building, and that was a nunnery.”¹

Intensely aware of literary associations, he visited the hill of Tara and meditated upon the harp that once had shed the soul of music there. (Such visits were burned into his memory, and he recalled being upon the hill again when, as an exile in Mexico, like the harp of Tara’s halls, he was aware that “glory’s thrill” was over.²) After touring Belfast he went to view the Giant’s Causeway, an excellent example of symmetry in nature. Furthermore, he found the Irish whiskey in the vicinity to be “remarkably good.”

Allen arrived in Glasgow, Scotland, on July 23. Two days later he walked upon the banks of the Bonnie Doon in the land of Robert Burns. He gazed at Dumbarton and envied Bruce's valor. He visited Loch Lomond and Loch Katrine, recalling verses from the "Lady of the Lake" and visualizing scenes from the novels of Sir Walter Scott.³

Edinburgh was "full of metaphysics and oatmeal porridge, of quarterly Reviews and Scotch whiskey." Allen visited the home of John Knox, toured Edinburgh Castle, examined the castle once occupied by Mary, Queen of Scots, and paid his respects to the University of Edinburgh before journeying south. He arrived in London accompanied by two Mississippians who were willing to aid him in astonishing the "phlegmatic Englishmen." After registering at a hotel, Allen and his colleagues spent an evening in merriment and good drink followed by a visit to the Comorn Gardens, "which place was mostly frequented by the fast young men and women of London, who come here to dance to delicious music, and pass an hour or two in the 'little frivolities' of life."⁴

The next day Allen went to visit the House of Lords and returned frequently thereafter to listen to the debates and to gaze upon the features of a real Duke of Argyle. The House of Commons was not so well behaved as the House of Lords, but after discovering that a half-crown would get him a front-row seat in the visitor's gallery, Allen attended its sessions as well. He had the pleasure of meeting the Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, whom he greeted on the street, mistaking him for an English sugar broker whom he had met in West Baton Rouge. Palmerston, he assured his readers, took the mistake in good humor.⁵

A conscientious sightseer, Allen sampled some original Billingsgate, examined the Old Bailey, and paid his respects to dead notables in Westminster Abbey, where, he was horrified to discover, neither John Bunyan nor Lord Nelson was entombed. The Tower of London, London Bridge, and St. Paul's Cathedral were also on his list. Knowing that his friends back in West Baton Rouge would be aware of an obvious omission, Allen explained that Queen Victoria was visiting the Isle of Wight; consequently, he had not seen her.

Allen's next stop was Paris. Not only was it the epitome of fashion and elegance but it offered more inducements to a *bon vivant* than any other world capital. With the "assistance of a cab, a stallion, and a courier," Allen encompassed the city. He toured the homes of

living gods and dead kings, and even visited the great cemetery of Paris, where prince and peasant, rich and poor, high and low were all buried in democratic proximity. The tombs of Héloïse and Abélard were covered with flowers.⁶

While in Paris, Allen witnessed the triumphal return from Italy of Napoleon III and his army. Pomp and ceremony, as always, impressed him. "The present government of the Emperor," he reported, "seems to be about as good as the French people can stand. They have tried Equality and Fraternity, and in the name of Liberty have butchered more people than wars or pestilence have destroyed." Allen also noted that the Emperor had many Negro troops and that these made "admirable soldiers."⁷

Other Americans were visiting Paris at the time. Sarah Dorsey later recalled:

It was our good fortune to be with him during a portion of this tour. We were often amused at his eager and vivacious activity. He knew very little French, but he bought himself a grammar, a phrase-book, a guide-book, and provided himself with a master, the day after his arrival in Paris. He then methodically devoted part of the earliest morning hours to study, and the rest of the day to the most indefatigable sightseeing. We venture to say he saw more of Paris in three weeks than ordinary travelers do in as many months. It was absolutely fatiguing to listen to his account of what he *did see* every day!⁸

Allen occasionally went shopping. One purchase consisted of a matched set of cuff links and studs, each item set with a single solitaire diamond. When telling of it later, he laughed at his extravagance in spending \$3,000 for such a frivolous purchase.⁹

From Paris to Geneva was twelve hours by rail. Allen continued to tour meticulously. He stopped on the way to taste Burgundy wine in its native surroundings, and once in Geneva he visited the grave of John Calvin. Something about the grave, perhaps, reminded him of another grave in far-off Mississippi, for in addition to his letter to the *Weekly Advocate* he wrote a letter to Reverend Zebulon Butler, the clergyman by whom he and Salome had been married.¹⁰

Lausanne, Berne, Lucerne, and Zurich he viewed with his usual care, and at Strasbourg a notable incident occurred:

While seated in the Hotel . . . writing a letter to a friend, and smoking a cigar, I would occasionally spit out of the window, which was up, the weather being very warm. There were no spittoons in the room, and I did

not wish to spit on the well-carpeted floor. . . . Well, in an unguarded moment, as misfortune would have it, I spit smack into the face of a tall, fine-looking Frenchman, who happened just at the moment to turn and look into the window. The Gaul gazed at me first with an uncertain stare: then came a volley of oaths and a violent shaking of fists.¹¹

Allen apologized in his best French, but the enraged man demanded satisfaction. A crowd gathered. Allen explained again, this time through interpreters, that the spitting had been an accident and that he, Allen, was an American. This information, instead of mollifying the man, only incensed him further, and Allen resigned himself to fulfilling the challenge. At this point the police intervened and the episode closed. Allen resumed his sightseeing and toward evening proceeded to Baden-Baden, where gambling was the main attraction.

At Frankfurt-am-Main, birthplace of the Rothschilds and sometime home of Martin Luther, Allen found the ladies more beautiful than elsewhere in Germany and reminiscent of Rebecca in *Ivanhoe*. After a stop at Wiesbaden he moved on to Cologne. There he visited the Church of St. Ursula and saw the bones of the eleven thousand virgins who were murdered with her there. "I think," he wrote, "I could have put those 11,000 virgins to a better use. I never saw such a 'pile of bones' before."¹² At the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle he paid his respects to Charlemagne. From Aix he went to Brussels and nearby Waterloo.

Allen next toured Holland, where he was much impressed by the government-maintained dikes. He wrote the *Advocate*:

We have only the Mississippi to levee. This can be done effectually. In Holland they have fought and conquered the Rhine and the Ocean. We should then take courage in Louisiana—change our entire levee system—place it under the control of the State, and make it the duty of the Commissioner of Public Works to take charge of all levees, from the Balize to the Arkansas line. Give them full power to construct, rebuild, and repair all levees at the expense of the general levee fund, and then we will have no more overflows.¹³

Berlin was also worth writing home about. It was a "great city" although it had the "air of a camp" about it. "To their King Frederick the Great," Allen wrote, "they have recently erected the most beautiful statue, or rather group of statues, I ever beheld." This monument by Rauch consisted of a granite pedestal 25 feet high, presenting on each face bronze groups of the great commanders of the Seven Years' War, on foot and horseback, all the size of life, and all portraits in

high relief. Allen devoted several enthusiastic paragraphs to it, concluding: "It is the greatest triumph of the greatest artist since the days of Michelangelo. . . ." In Potsdam, "the Versailles of Berlin," Allen explored the palaces and gardens of Sans-Souci. The gardens were elegant; the palace of Charlottenburg, "a most remarkable pile of marble and gilt." As for Frederick: "The old king still lives at 'Sans-Souci.' Poor old man! He is in a dying condition. His disease is softening of the brain, brought on by drinking too much Cliquot champagne! for he was *no one-bottle* man, but a good honest drinker!"¹⁴

September reached its mid-point when Allen was in Dresden. There he investigated the china, catalogued the art treasures, and came to a curious conclusion: "The large mass of the German people are free-thinkers. They read the ponderous works of Immanuel Kant, and drink oceans of lager-bier. Thus fortified, they are ready to dispute with St. Peter himself, or chop logic with John Bunyan, John Calvin, John Wesley, or John Hughes."¹⁵

On September 18 Allen arrived in Vienna, where he was impressed by the Imperial arsenal. As for the artillery wagons:

I really envied the Austrian government the having so many of these light and handsome wagons, for I think I could put a few of them to far better uses than hauling gunpowder and cannonballs. I would put them to hauling sugar-cane, and fill their ample sides with swelling ears of Indian corn. "Peace has its conquest as well as war." I much prefer to fight crab-grass and cockle-burs, to mortal men of flesh and blood; and such modest unpretending tools as the plow, the hoe, and the spade, are much more congenial to my nature than broad swords, smooth-bores, and grape-shot.¹⁶

Saturday night he attended the opera, and Sunday morning, thorough investigator that he was, he attended mass. That evening, he went "to hear the celebrated Straus . . . [who] plays with his band every Sunday evening at a fashionable establishment in the suburbs of Vienna. The music was truly magnificent, especially the waltzes."

Trieste was 363 miles and twenty-four hours away. The railway through the Styrian Alps with its tunnels (Allen counted forty-seven of them) and double track all the way surpassed, he admitted, any in the United States. This train ride carried him to a region where some of his strongest prejudices came to the surface. Trieste, he

reported, contained "about 80,000 inhabitants, most of whom are Italians, Greeks, and Turks. But few *white* people live here."

Allen, who thought the Frenchman upon whom he had accidentally spat in Strasbourg was being unreasonable, felt himself offended when "while I was sipping my coffee, a turbaned Turk as black as the ace of spades, with a shirt nearly as black as his skin, came up and took a seat by me on the large sofa, crossed his legs, and began puffing away his horrid tobacco smoke under my very nose. I felt like 'taking by the throat the circumcised dog,' and smiting him until he should know how to treat a Christian gentleman, but recollected that I was in Austria." ¹⁷

When Allen arrived in Venice, the city was stirring uneasily under Austrian dictatorship. The first evening, as he walked in the Piazza di San Marco, he heard gunshots and followed a crowd to where two Italians lay dead. They had been shot down for attempting to disarm Austrian soldiers on guard duty. Nowhere does Allen suggest that he had originally come to Europe to participate in the fight for Italian liberation, although Mrs. Dorsey and others assert that this was his intention. ¹⁸

Many English and Americans spent their winters in Italy. Allen met one such Englishman and his wife in Venice:

We were together several days. Said he to me one day, "Sir, I am from Lincolnshire, the great grain-growing county of England. We have there some farmers who cultivate as much as 200 acres of land!" I smiled at this innocent boast, and informed my English friend that in Louisiana there were many planters who cultivated 1,000 acres in cotton and fully as much in corn and sugar-cane. The well-fed Britisher gave me an incredulous blink of his eye, as if he wished me plainly to understand that there was such a thing in the world as *gassing*; but when I reminded him that we made 4,000,000 bales of cotton, and 400,000 hogsheads of sugar, he finally agreed that his "American cousins" were a great people. ¹⁹

That Americans were a great people was something Henry Allen insisted upon.

Allen next visited Padua, "an old, seedy place," then Verona, Solferino, and Milan, where he paid his respects to "The Last Supper" and spent an evening at La Scala. After stops in Turin and Genoa he went on to "poor old Pisa," which was "full of fleas and beggars. It has no commerce—no trade of any kind. The grass grows rank in all its streets, even up to the very door of her greatest curios-

ity, the 'Leaning Tower!' There is a population here of about 20,000 inhabitants, who seem to live, like some of the first families of Virginia, on *past recollections*." There was, however, at least one redeeming feature. "As I passed into the tower, I noticed two lazaroni playing cards under the steps. It reminded me so much of West Baton Rouge, and was an evidence of civilization that I never dreamed of in poor old decayed Pisa!"²⁰

Florence was delightful. Allen's first act upon arrival was to call upon the American sculptor Hiram Powers. They talked about the statue of Washington which the state of Louisiana had commissioned of Powers and which then stood in the capitol at Baton Rouge. Allen spent the evening with the sculptor and his family. Powers, he reported, had just finished a statue entitled "California" which depicted the state as a beautiful nude: "She displays all her charms, inviting the whole world to come, but holds a bunch of thorns concealed in her hand behind."²¹

The day after his visit with Powers, Allen went to the Pitti Palace and the Uffizi Gallery to see the works of older masters. At the Pitti Palace two English tourists were looking at Canova's Venus. One side of the statue was poorly lighted and one of the Englishmen was walking around trying to find a better viewing position. A gentleman came in and informed them that the pedestal was designed in such a way that the statue could be turned around. The Englishmen thought that while in some ways the stranger was quite different from their stereotype of a typical American, "it was impossible to mistake his nationality. There was something in his appearance and in the few words which he spoke that led the Englishmen to suppose him somewhat of a character."²² When he left, they agreed on this view and promptly forgot him. The "character" was Henry Allen. The two Englishmen were to meet him again.

Allen proceeded to the Uffizi Gallery, where one of the most notable attractions was the Venus de Medici. Although it was considered the best representation of the female form, he did not like it, pointing out that in his opinion the head was entirely too small and the toes too short. That evening he invited Hiram Powers out to dine.

Allen toured busily; there were nearly two hundred churches in Florence and he had little time. Two days later, embarking at Leghorn for Civita Vecchia, the two Englishmen observed their ac-

quaintance of the Pitti Palace among the passengers. He too recognized them, and before long they had learned a good deal about him.

His name was Allen; he was a sugar-planter in Louisiana, and had called his estate *Allendale*. In earlier life he had been engaged in various occupations; among other things, he had been a soldier, and from his military service was entitled to style himself Captain. He had been at college too, and had, in his way, a strong taste for literature; his way in this, as in other things, being somewhat different from that of his English acquaintances. He had been engaged in a good many duels—or “difficulties,” as he called them—fought, for the most part, on behalf of other persons whom he supposed to need a champion. . . . As a slave-owner he was no admirer of “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” and was vehement against the policy of the Northern Americans; indeed, it was from his conversation that we first learned to understand the intensity of the exasperation between the two sections of the United States which was soon to burst out into war.²³

The Englishmen’s notebooks also recorded that “at Civita Vecchia, he startled one of our fellow-passengers, an American lady, usually resident at Rome, by asking her, ‘Does the pope go much into society?’ ”

The traveling Englishmen were intrigued, and occasionally horrified, by this strange American, many of whose comments found their way hastily into the English notebooks. Writing to the *Advocate* from Rome, Allen informed his readers: “I am traveling . . . with two very clever English gentlemen; one Mr. Forsyth, an eminent lawyer of London, and the other the Rev. Mr. Robertson, an elegant scholar. . . . They are social, good companions. We met in Florence, and have concluded to ‘tie to one another,’ in this land of *barbarians*, where you never hear the mother tongue of a white man and a Christian spoken! I made the remark to-day that Rome was a one-horse town. These Gentlemen immediately pulled out their memorandum-books and put it down.” Robertson concurs: “His first impression of Rome was summed up on the day of his arrival, after a survey of about two hours,—‘I think, sir, this Rome is a one-horse place.’ ”²⁴

Once in Rome, Allen was again in a whirlwind of activity. He found the Italians a great deal different from the Romans he had encountered in literature. Rome, once a great city, was now smaller than St. Louis, Cincinnati, or New Orleans, numbering only about 150,000 inhabitants including beggars and priests.

St. Peter’s had been high on Allen’s list. He found it impressive:

"If surroundings have any effect upon the human heart, and fit it for a closer communion with our Heavenly Father, then most assuredly St. Peter's possesses far greater advantages than all other churches I have ever seen."

From St. Peter's Allen went to the Tiber, which he thought "a very congenial place for loggerhead turtles and mudcats. There is no poetry about this river. It smells too bad." After dinner he joined Forsyth and Robertson in exploring the exterior of the Colosseum, and on his way back to the hotel

discovered at least *forty* separate and distinct stinks or bad smells, which appear to infest Rome, and come out mostly at night. With the aid of a long mustache, and a much longer segar, I managed, however, to get safe to my room and in a few minutes I found myself in the land of dreams—a-dreaming of Romulus and Remus and the she-wolf of Livy and Horace—and my old school master, Philo Calhoun, who used to flog me most unmercifully on account of not *knowing exactly* what these aforesaid old heathen wrote about. I awoke, however, in the morning, refreshed with a sound and pleasant sleep, ready for work.²⁵

Perhaps the word "work" indicates how serious a tourist Allen was. He explained, "He who wishes to learn must labor." His English friends commented on his sightseeing habits: "At Rome we were in the same hotel with him. During the day time we saw little of him, for he rushed about from one sight to another in the way which is possible for none but Americans, and we believe that during his short stay, which lasted only from Tuesday afternoon to Saturday evening, he contrived to see more than his English friends saw in three weeks."²⁶

Some of Allen's idiosyncrasies were noted by his English companions:

His sojourn [in Rome] was . . . a time of intense delight [although] his pride in his own country might have seemed incompatible with the enjoyment of any other country. He could never admire anything without violently dragging in something finer of the same sort from America. In the mountains, rivers, lakes, and the like, we, of course, allowed him his own way, without any questioning of the New World's superiority. As to art, he avowedly preferred Mr. Hiram Powers to all the ancients; even as to ruins we are not sure that he was willing to let America be outdone. Yet he enjoyed Florence and Rome exceedingly. "We are a great nation," was a sentence continually repeated although certainly never contradicted; and, having a vehement horror of the Roman religion . . . he entertained imaginations of throwing down the "scarlet woman drunken with the

blood of the saints," and of seeing the "star spangled banner" wave over the harbour of Civita Vecchia and the castle of St. Angelo. On the evening after our arrival . . . one of the party observed that the streets of Rome were said to be not always safe after nightfall, our gallant companion brought out with a triumphant air an account of the Five Points' at New York, where it was "as much as a man's life is worth" to pass at night. . . . So determined was he that the States should not be surpassed, even in the badness of their police.²⁷

Allen did concede, however, that Europe had more and better paintings and that many of these were in Rome.

Farewell, Eternal City! . . . to thy grandeur and thy glory, to thy stately palaces and grand old ruins! Farewell to thy works of art, on brilliant canvas and pure pale marble! I am tired of you all. I go back . . . where the unsubstantial arts and sciences are but little cultivated, but where . . . every arpent produces two hogsheads of sugar, and every acre a bale of cotton. Where the plough, the loom, and the anvil are more thought of than the Apollo Belvidere . . . where the painter . . . uses his brush, as a painter should, on weather-boards and wagon-wheels. . . . Yes, I am returning to the only land of liberty and equality on which the sun shines . . .²⁸

Allen was not always easy to like or to understand. "Yet," said his English companions, "with all his proneness to brag—much of his nation, and even somewhat of himself—there was in him a singular mixture of modesty. And very widely as his ideas differed from any that we had been accustomed to, we liked him much, and were heartily sorry when he left us, little expecting that we should ever see him or hear of him again."²⁹

Allen left Rome by steamer for Marseilles. However, his over-enthusiastic sightseeing had brought on an attack of "Roman fever." Struggling against the fever, he made his way to Paris and then to London, "but there he found himself unable to struggle any longer, and lay for some time between life and death, without any other attendance on which he could reckon than that of the people of his hotel, and of a doctor whom they called in." One of the Englishmen "whose return to England and whose residence Allen had accidentally discovered, complied at once with the request that he would call on him at his hotel; but, although he [Mr. Forsyth] would assuredly have been ready to show him further kindness . . . the sick man had by that time so far recovered that he was resolved to set out homewards the very next day."³⁰

Allen proceeded to Liverpool and boarded ship for Boston. Still ill, he made his way southward and home. In December he wrote a final letter concerning his travels to the editors of the *Advocate*. He also wrote a letter to his English friends telling of his arrival at Allendale and of the "joyful welcome with which he had been received by his 'servants,' who had been alarmed by a report of his death."³¹

He told his friends in Louisiana: "I would not exchange my own humble plantation on the banks of the Mississippi for the proudest barony of Old England. As a planter, I much prefer the cultivation of cotton, and corn, and sugar cane, to beets and hops, to turnips and potatoes. As an investment, I am thoroughly satisfied that an acre of sugar cane will produce twice as much—that is, will net double as much—as an acre of any English crop. Still, as an American, I must say that the English are a great people."

As for expenses, he maintained that a European trip was no more costly than a tour of the North or a sojourn at the Virginia Springs. Specifically, one could make the trip for \$990.71, unless, of course, one "risked his money at cards," or bought exotic jewelry, or filled his trunk with "magnificent clothes" with the help of the Emperor's tailors. Then, of course, one would find that it took "the big end" of a sugar crop "to foot the bills."³²

Fortunately, Henry W. Allen of Louisiana, sugar planter, had what it took.

A Nation Divided

CHARGES OF IMPORTING slaves were pending against Allen when he returned to Louisiana late in 1859, but the proceedings had to be delayed until his agent and the sea captain allegedly involved could appear in court with their books and records. The case was postponed until, without decision, it was lost in the holocaust of civil war.¹ Meanwhile, Allen maintained his interest in social and civic affairs. As vice-president of the Industrial Fair Association, composed of citizens of East and West Baton Rouge, he helped to ready an exhibition for 1860. The exhibition, held in March, was well attended and successful. Plans to make it an annual affair were interrupted by the war.

Joining in a movement to reorganize the Louisiana Historical Society, Allen had been elected president pro tempore before he left for Europe. He set the organization properly on its way by inviting his co-organizers to dinner in Baton Rouge. Charles Gayarré, Allen's colleague from American Party days, officially became the first president when the revived historical organization received its charter in February, 1860. Pursuing his historical interests, Allen succeeded in having the legislature require that notarial and colonial records in New Orleans be deposited with the state librarian in Baton Rouge. In February of 1861 Allen became president of the association, but further development was also interrupted by the war.²

Allen's activity in the legislature on behalf of his constituents reflected many of his earlier interests. Roads, railroads, waterways, flood control, and education continued to concern him. His position as a sugar planter whose holdings stretched for four miles along

the Mississippi assured his personal interest in flood control, drainage, waterways, and water carriers.

In the absence of a public levee system, those with property on the river were obliged to maintain levee and road along their river frontage. It is hardly strange that Allen was interested in the establishment of a state-supported levee system.³ His observations in Holland provided him with arguments with which to support such a proposal.⁴

In the next legislative session, Allen introduced two bills designed to provide public-supported levees. The first proposal, which would have provided for complete state control and maintenance, never got to the floor of the house. A second measure would have provided for a general property tax in the parishes subject to overflow, funds thus raised to be applied to the levees which protected them. This also failed. Allen's plans and many of the levees themselves were later swept away by the War Between the States.⁵

Many of Allen's actions, in the legislature and elsewhere, were devoid of self-interest. An example of this was his opposition to the sale of swamp land. The Federal government at mid-century had donated about nine million acres of swamp land to Louisiana; revenue from the sale of this land was to be spent on levees to protect, drain, and reclaim lands subject to overflow. In 1852 the legislature had offered one million acres for sale. Any white person over twenty-one or the head of a family might buy from forty to three hundred acres at the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre. In 1855 another million acres were offered at the same price; a third million, in 1859.

Many people, including Allen, felt that this was playing into the hands of speculators; he tried consistently to stop the sale of swamp lands. The allocation of improvement funds made possible by the sale of swamp land was also frequently a matter of controversy and the cause of much logrolling and vote trading. Consequently, politics rather than need determined which levees received which appropriation, and protection was not commensurate with cost. Levee planning and construction lacked uniformity, and there was a great deal of duplication and overlapping of services. In 1858 the state engineer recommended a single department, but the Board of Public Works which the legislature created also proved unsatisfactory. In 1861 Allen led the fight which succeeded in getting the legislature

to abolish the board and authorize the governor to appoint a state engineer.⁶

Allen was also interested in having a geological survey of the state. He was unsuccessful, although Governor Thomas O. Moore had endorsed such a survey in his inaugural address. Allen's bill, introduced in the summer of 1861, called for a "scientific description of the rocks and minerals, soils, waters, and animal and vegetable productions" found in the state. There was opposition to the bill because of the expense involved. The measure got through the house only to die in the senate.⁷

As a legislator, Allen was energetic, enthusiastic, and occasionally violent and caustic in political debate, but he was fortunate enough to keep his political adversaries on a friendly personal basis.⁸ When the session of 1860 closed, the *Sugar Planter* complimented him on his influence and talent as a legislator, and the Baton Rouge correspondent for the New Orleans *Picayune* agreed.⁹ He described Allen to his readers:

H. W. Allen, of West Baton Rouge, is about five feet nine or ten inches high, spare made, ruddy complexion, quick piercing eyes, a classical forehead, and wears most generally a good-natured smile on his countenance—is about 40 years old. He is graceful in manners, neat in dress, and every inch a gentleman. In debate his style is passionate—quick in ideas, quick in speech, but with an utterance clear and distinct; and, in argument, he always takes the shortest way to his points—never elaborating or explaining anything by metaphor or comparison, but enforces facts or statements with good plain English, in a clear, plain bold manner. . . . Captain Allen [he concluded, after describing Allen's recent political history] is a reliable man [who] carries out his word. Such a man all must admire, respect and honor.¹⁰

Allen's position on secession and slavery was revealed in the session of 1860 when he introduced resolutions condemning John Brown's raid in Virginia and its Northern sympathizers, and specifying that Louisiana would support Virginia in the appropriation of \$25,000 to aid that state in fighting the battles of the South. Allen's resolutions also called for Louisiana to lead a general Southern secession if a Republican were elected President. These resolutions did not pass the house, but his sentiments were rapidly gaining strength.¹¹

By 1860 Louisiana Democrats were divided into two factions, one emphasizing Southern rights, the other supporting constitutional

union. Allen, who had stood for union as a member of the American Party, moved toward the Southern Rights faction led by John Slidell. At Brusly Landing on February 20, 1860, attending a Democratic meeting for the first time, he was elected as a parish delegate to the state convention which, in turn, elected delegates to the National Democratic Convention.¹² Sentiment at the state convention favored states rights and slavery. The Louisiana delegates to the national convention at Charleston, South Carolina, reflected this; they followed William L. Yancey and the Alabama delegation out of the convention when a deadlock over the national platform occurred. News of this walkout produced mixed emotions in Louisiana. A mass meeting in New Orleans on May 12 ratified the action of Louisiana's representatives and resolved to support them when the convention reconvened at Baltimore. Those who opposed the action of the Louisiana delegation had already met May 8 in New Orleans, protesting this step toward disunion, and called a statewide meeting. On May 19 this group elected their own delegates to the Baltimore convention who were instructed to vote for Stephen A. Douglas' nomination. At Brusly Landing on June 2 the Democrats of West Baton Rouge, after a stirring address by Allen, signified their support of the original delegates.¹³

The breach within the Democratic ranks could not be healed either in Louisiana or the nation. As a consequence, the presidential campaign of 1860 got underway with the regular Democrats supporting Douglas, the States-Right Democrats supporting John C. Breckinridge, who was then Vice-President, and the Constitutional-Unionists supporting John Bell. Breckinridge ran third and Douglas second in New Orleans, but this did not reflect the sentiment of the state as a whole, and particularly not the rural areas. Breckinridge won the state with Bell a close second and Douglas a poor third. The Democratic split contributed to the election of Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln.

When the results of the election of 1860 were known, dismay and forebodings of disaster shook the South. In Louisiana, Governor Moore was flooded with petitions asking him to call the state legislature into special session. As the pressure mounted, the governor complied and on December 10 a special session of the legislature convened in Baton Rouge to determine which course Louisiana should follow. In his message to the legislature, the governor emphasized his own

position: "I do not think it comports with the honor and respect of Louisiana, as a slave-holding state, to live under the government of a Black Republican President."¹⁴

On December 12 Allen introduced Wirt Adams, commissioner from Mississippi, to the legislature in joint session. At Adams' urging, provision was made for a state convention to cooperate with Mississippi and other Southern states. Steps were also taken to organize and equip a state militia. Less than a month later, on January 7, 1861, an election was held to select delegates to the convention. From the returns it was evident that the people who favored immediate secession would be in the majority. Two days before the convention was to assemble, the legislature met for its regular session. In his annual report, Governor Moore, convinced that the people of Louisiana favored secession, spent a great deal of time on this topic. When the convention assembled in Baton Rouge on January 23, the outcome was already certain.

The Delta Rifles had been organized in West Baton Rouge a month earlier. Allen was one of the first volunteers. On January 9 the Delta Rifles, although still in civilian dress, were among the troops called upon to seize the Federal arsenal in Baton Rouge. The Federal commander, however, refused to surrender, and Governor Moore was forced to telegraph for reinforcements. More troops arrived the next day from New Orleans, and when the number approached six hundred the Federal commander agreed to surrender, with the stipulation that the United States flag should not be lowered until he and his troops had gone. On January 13 the Delta Rifles occupied the arsenal and the Union flag was replaced by the ensign of the state.¹⁵

All but seven of the 130 delegates were present when the convention assembled in Baton Rouge. Alexander Mouton, a former governor of Louisiana and erstwhile delegate to Charleston, was elected president of the convention. Former Governor John L. Manning of South Carolina and Governor John A. Winston of Alabama were present to lend hope to the idea of a successful future for the Southern Confederacy. Louisiana was urged to secede and to send delegates to the Montgomery convention. John J. Perkins, Jr., an old friend of Allen, was chairman of a committee which recommended the dissolution of the bonds uniting Louisiana and the United States. The vote in favor of secession was 117 to 13.¹⁶ The New Orleans

Daily Crescent on January 27, 1861, reported that "by a vote almost unanimous, and with calm dignity and firm purpose, Louisiana resumes her delegated powers, and escapes from a union in which she felt that she could no longer remain with honour."

When the results of the vote were announced, Allen entered the hall carrying the flag of the state. Behind him were Governor Moore, Colonel Braxton Bragg, representatives of the clergy, and other distinguished officials. A rocket was fired from the capitol grounds and upon this signal the pelican flag was raised and saluted as the ensign of a sovereign state. Allen's English friends read of this as they began to follow his Confederate career in the press.¹⁷

The convention adjourned for three days, reconvened in New Orleans, and remained in session until March 26. Delegates were sent to the Montgomery meeting. Assets of the United States Mint in New Orleans and United States Custom House funds were seized for the Confederacy. The convention ratified the Confederate constitution, went on record as favoring the election of Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens, and prepared Louisiana to take its place as a Confederate state.¹⁸

As the outbreak of hostilities drew closer, the people of Texas instituted a sentimental search for two cannons, known as the Twin Sisters, the only pieces of artillery supporting the Texas cause in the Battle of San Jacinto. When Texas was admitted to the Union, these guns had also been federalized and were kept at the Federal arsenal at Baton Rouge until, becoming obsolete, they were sold for scrap iron. Texas wanted them back, and Allen assisted in the search for them. Neither cannon had been destroyed and, once they were located, the Louisiana legislature, prompted by Allen, appropriated money to have them mounted and returned to Texas. Allen and two others journeyed to Texas for the presentation on March 4, 1861.¹⁹

At the end of the legislative session in 1861 Allen gave in again to his compulsion to travel. Shortly thereafter he visited his Virginia birthplace. One of his Farmville cousins who accompanied him to his mother's grave had never witnessed "such uncontrollable emotion as seized him when he approached that hallowed spot. . . . The firm, bold man was melted, and bowed to the earth. He knelt down by the grave, overwhelmed with a burst of grief, not surpassed, I am sure, by those who witnessed her dying hour, when she calmly and beautifully passed into her home in Heaven,"²⁰

Before leaving Virginia, Allen gave his cousin authority to beautify his mother's grave. Landscaping was much on his mind at that particular moment—he did not feel that the rising tumult should delay even the landscaping of the capitol grounds at Baton Rouge. His lack of apprehension was evidenced by a jaunt to Cuba, where he remained until late April, combining a brief respite from legislative and military activities with the collecting of some rare seeds, plants, and trees.²¹ He did not expect the pattern of his life as a legislator to be drastically altered. He did, however, raise his sights and announce his candidacy for the Congress of the Confederacy. He had support in the press for this. The New Orleans *Daily Crescent* could “testify to his ability and sincere worth,” adding that “as a high-toned and chivalrous gentleman, Captain Allen stands unequalled in the entire district. He is a man that would reflect honor upon any constituency.”²²

Other considerations and interests, however, kept Allen from campaigning actively. He served as a special commissioner to encourage investment in the Confederate government.²³ He also was a mustering officer, and through his efforts many militia companies entered state service. Twelve of these formed the Fourth Louisiana Regiment on May 1 in New Orleans. Allen, appointed lieutenant colonel, was second in command under Colonel Robert J. Barrow of Pointe Coupee. Samuel E. Hunter of East Feliciana Parish was appointed major.²⁴

Allen bowed out of the congressional race. The man who less than two years before had convinced himself that he preferred “to fight crab-grass and cockle-burs, to mortal men of flesh and blood,” who found plow and hoe more congenial than broad sword and grapeshot, knew the obligations of his chivalric code when the cry was “War!”

Fort Sumter had been fired upon. Abraham Lincoln had declared that an “insurrection” existed in the United States. His call for troops forced the hands of the undecided. Virginia joined the South, and was soon followed by Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. Richmond became the capital of the determined, but not yet grim, Confederacy.

Henry Allen was only one of many Southerners who overestimated the Southern potential and underestimated the North. At the dawn of conflict, the North had twenty-two million people, with

a continual influx of immigrants. As a unit, the North had a balanced economy, a good railroad system, a merchant marine, and naval supremacy. The South, on the other hand, had a bare trickle of immigration. Nine million people lived within the Southern states; more than a third of these were Negro slaves.

Whatever stability the Southern economy had resulted from imbalance. Southern railroads were plentiful and as individualistic as the planters who traveled on them. They covered the countryside but did not connect. Frequently, because they were of different gauges, they could not connect.²⁵ Moreover, the Southern railroads were dependent upon Northern manufacturers for replacement and maintenance.

The extent of Southern reliance upon the North was apparent to Henry Grady of Georgia. With the advantage of historical hindsight, he illustrated the point in his description of the funeral of the "one-gallus man." The grave, cut through marble, bore a tombstone from Vermont. The body was buried beneath a pine forest in a pine coffin from Cincinnati. The shovel which dug the grave and even the coffin nails came from Pittsburgh, although there was an iron mine nearby. The corpse wore a coat from New York, shoes from Boston, a shirt from Cincinnati, and pants from Chicago. In fact, Grady explained, "the South didn't furnish a thing for that funeral but the corpse and the hole in the ground."²⁶

The planters of the South were not prepared for the kind of war they were entering. War, they thought, was a man-to-man business. What had factories and railroads to do with it? Nor did the population difference bother them; mechanics and factory drudges were not warriors. Henry Allen, Jefferson Davis, and a host of others romantically conceived of themselves as members of a Southern knight-hood.

Sarah Dorsey, who shared the illusion, eventually glimpsed a grimmer truth. As she looked back over the life of Henry Allen, she admitted that in many ways he was born centuries too late: "In all respects he would have suited better with the age of Tancred and Rinaldo, of Bayard and Gaston de Foix."²⁷ But Mrs. Dorsey knew this only after the war and the death of Allen, not on the eve of war, when "to the imperious young plantation princes, who were to be liquidated as a class, the threat of invasion was no menace. They were eager to ride as Prince Ruperts against a nation of shop-

keepers and mill hands who had the ill-mannered insolence to threaten the planter's civilization. And the camellia skinned, soft-voiced belles, who were to become a generation of widows, were busy making silk flags to flutter as banners above the lancers." ²⁸

The South had another handicap as it entered the war: its politicians were afraid of a strong central government that might infringe upon states' rights, and they would not allow their own Confederacy to be sufficiently centralized to wage a concerted war.

Some were aware of these handicaps and difficulties, but their voices were barely audible as hysteria swept the lower South in the wake of Lincoln's election. Southern institutions were threatened, and emotion trampled reason. The New Orleans *Bee* explained in an editorial that the secession movement in Louisiana grew too fast "to warrant the faintest hope of retarding its progress. . . . All that could be done by moderate, dispassionate, political and experienced men was to go with the current, endeavoring to subdue its boiling and seething energies." ²⁹ This endeavor was futile. Many in the South felt that the war had to be fought for the sake of humanity. The Reverend James H. Thornwell of South Carolina declared: "The parties in this conflict are not merely abolitionists and slave holders; they are atheist, socialist, communist, red republicans, jacobins on the one side, and the friends of order and regulated freedom on the other. In one word, the world is the battleground, Christianity and atheism the combatants, and the progress of humanity, the stake." ³⁰

Moreover, after Sumter and Lincoln's call for troops to suppress the insurrection, many men felt that they had no choice. Robert E. Lee, although he believed that slavery was a moral and political evil, at this juncture wrote: "With all my devotion to the Union and the feeling of loyalty and duty of an American citizen, I have not been able to make up my mind to raise my hand against my relatives, my children, my home." ³¹ Having resigned his commission in the United States Army, he offered his services to his native state.

Henry Allen doubted neither the justice nor the wisdom of the actions of Louisiana and the South as "in the month of May, in the year of Grace, 1861, we left our plantation in the goodly parish of West Baton Rouge, about eight miles from the capitol of Louisiana, and went to the wars." ³²

10

Leader of the Fourth Regiment

THE HENRY ALLEN who had been too ill to function as speaker of the house and who had just visited Cuba at least partly for his health was now second in command of the Fourth Louisiana Regiment. Allen threw himself completely into his new career. He spent long hours drilling his personal servant to gain proficiency in giving commands.¹ With a dash of the romantic, he asked Sarah Dorsey to write some "Confederate" words for him to sing to the tune of "Annie Laurie."²

Late in July, 1861, Allen assumed command of four companies of the Fourth Louisiana on Ship Island, strategically located a few miles off the Mississippi coast. The Federal government had begun construction of a fort there in 1856. Eleven days after Mississippi seceded, the outpost was seized and partially destroyed by Confederate forces. In July the Confederate Navy landed a small force there, and toward the end of the month Allen and three companies arrived. They remained on the island until September.³

In a letter dated July 30, 1861, the readers of the *Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate* were told that Allen and his men were on Ship Island and "here we intend to stay and keep 'watch and ward' over this 'Isle of tranquil delight' in spite of mosquitoes, hot sun, bilge water, live Yankees and big ships."⁴

In charge of the entire detachment, Allen put his men to work building sandbag batteries, whereupon one company (not of the Fourth Louisiana) mutinied. Allen promptly ordered the guns turned on the mutineers, "marched the whole force, with loaded muskets, upon them, and quelled the mutiny without shedding a

drop of blood." The fort was rebuilt, bombproof casements and a magazine constructed, and guns mounted. This done, Allen devoted his attention to discipline and drill. His regimen was strict; alcoholic beverages were not allowed on the island and infractions of the rules drew harsh punishment.⁵

The mutiny on Ship Island revealed that there were many who bitterly resented manual labor, feeling that it was unbecoming to gentlemen. Perhaps one of these was the young man addressed in a letter dated November 30 of that year, and signed M. W., which said, "My dear son . . . we were distressed for a while on account of the trouble you were in, but trust that is now over. Maintain your resolutions of exerting yourself so vigorously in all your duties as to command the respect of those around you, and insure to yourself the greatest benefit. Be sure you have good cause before even making a serious issue. Col. Allen assures us there was no intention or idea of degrading you."⁶

While on Ship Island, Allen one day chanced to see a copy of an official report signed by a Federal officer which, he felt, did not treat him with sufficient respect. He promptly challenged the officer to a duel. There was no response. Mrs. Dorsey did not wholly approve of the propensity Allen had for dueling, but, on the other hand, she did not want him misunderstood. Whether or not it was defensible, "this Code [of Honor] governs the whole South, and all men, except they may be clergymen, are considered to be bound by it; by the adamantine fetters of opinion, caste, and custom. . . . He must be judged by the thought of his people. In many respects he was a Representative Man—his virtues and his faults were entirely Southern."⁷

Because of the increasing threat of the Federal Navy, it seemed expedient to remove the Ship Island garrison. Evacuation began on August 28 and continued until September 17, when the last Confederate ship left the area.⁸ The Fourth Louisiana Regiment left Mississippi City on October 31 and proceeded via New Orleans and Brashear City to Berwick, on the Louisiana coast. Allen continued his programs of work parties and drills while awaiting action at the front.

Finally, in February, 1862, the Fourth Regiment was ordered to Tennessee. All were ready to go. Each company had its dashing name and distinctive uniform. The West Feliciana Rifles vied with

the Beaver Creek Rifles. Some units proudly carried special flags fashioned and presented by admirers. The troop train rumbled into New Orleans on February 22. For two or three days the men were quartered in sheds in the old New Orleans cotton press.⁹ The evenings were filled with jubilation, tears, boasts, and promises. Allen spent his last evening in New Orleans at the home of Horace Fulkerson, who reported that Allen was chafing for field action.¹⁰

The next day the Fourth Regiment boarded a train and began a tediously slow journey north. Night found them still far from their destination. Late the following afternoon they arrived at Jackson, Tennessee, in the midst of a blizzard. To many, snow had been a vague and romantic phenomenon until they stepped into ten inches of its reality. Many other military groups were already encamped there. Nearly three weeks of March went by before the troops moved again. In the meantime, Colonel Barrow resigned and Allen was elected to command the regiment. He was also designated military governor of Jackson by General P. G. T. Beauregard. He continued to hold this latter position, which did not preclude leading troops into battle, until the region fell into Union hands the following month.¹¹

The Fourth Louisiana was attached to the Second Corps of the Army of the Mississippi. Braxton Bragg was the commanding general. General Daniel Ruggles, commanding the First Division, was Allen's immediate superior. Orders to be prepared for active service in the field were passed down on March 6,¹² but Allen and his troops did not move out toward Corinth, Mississippi, until March 22. Arriving in Corinth the following afternoon, they remained in the vicinity until April 5. Some troops were there waiting for them, and others arrived in the intervening days as the Confederate army under Albert Sidney Johnston withdrew from central Tennessee and concentrated around Corinth.¹³

Excitement was running high among the Southern troops, eager to meet the Yankees in battle. Glory was before them, and the eagerness to fight made the work of war even more onerous. Each day detachments filed out to dig trenches, fell trees, and build defensive obstacles. Even Allen considered some of this work too much, and protested to General Bragg that his men could not be expected to dig trenches continually. When Bragg asked why, Allen answered the general's question with the statement, "They are gentlemen."

"Oh! Well," Bragg replied, "you get your gentlemen a suitable number of spades and see that they dig trenches as fast and as frequently as possible." ¹⁴

Toward the end of the period of waiting, General Beauregard visited the regiment. He promised the troops drawn up in hollow square that their fighting days were not far off. "The Fourth looked particularly gallant" assembled there, "the ranks being full strength, and our uniforms and equipment perfect." ¹⁵

The next day the regiment began to move toward the front, pausing to camp at the little town of Monterey. On Friday night they began moving again toward the enemy. It had been raining for several days, the creeks were swollen, and progress was slow. Saturday night they were encamped in wooded countryside with the enemy only a hushed silence away. There was an occasional clearing in the woods and, in one of these, near a log cabin used as a church, the Federal forces had their principal camp.

The Fourth Regiment stacked arms and huddled damp and uncomfortable in the sleepless night. Only an unexpected mail-call helped warm some of the men with the hot breath of patriotism as they scanned the horizon, waiting for the dawn over Shiloh. Henry Allen sat in a tent with some friends and talked of the day before them. He was eager, effusive, and frequently grave. He said, "A man ought always to expect to be killed in battle, and should be willing and prepared for death always before he goes into it." He could not resist repeating the invocation to death from Fitz-Greene Halleck's "Marco Bozzaris." ¹⁶

That Sunday morning Shiloh Church was to witness a bloody baptism; for the first time on the American continent a hundred thousand troops would meet in battle. The Fourth Louisiana entered the engagement with about 575 men, inexperienced and untried. The first moments were disastrous. "While drawn up in line of battle and awaiting orders," Allen wrote later, "a Tennessee regiment immediately in our rear fired into us by mistake, killing and wounding a large number of my men. This was a terrible blow to the regiment; far more terrible than any inflicted by the enemy. It almost demoralized the regiment, who from that moment seemed to dread their friends much more than their enemies." ¹⁷

Toward noon, orders were given to advance. Allen and his troops were to attack an enemy artillery battery located on a hill

some distance in front of them.¹⁸ The aide-de-camp who brought this order to Allen reported:

I found him near a small copse or bosquet of woods. He received the order in silence; then turning his head around, he called his servant, Hyppolyte, who was standing near by. "Hyppolyte," he said in his rapid way, "we are going to charge; stand here in a safe place, but watch that flag," pointing to the regimental colors. "I shall either be before it or by it. If I fall, search for me, and take me to the rear if wounded; if *dead*—bury me decently; and now, God bless you, you have been a faithful servant." Allen led his regiment.¹⁹

Had it been pointed out that this approach to the enemy was more effective in lithograph than in action, Allen would not have been convinced. Leading his troops, he pressed toward the battery still contending with the tangled mess of underbrush which hindered every step. And then the enemy, now barely fifty feet away, released "a perfect tornado of rifle fire" which surprised and staggered his men. As they turned to flee in panic, Allen dashed among them, waving his sword and shouting, "Form on this line, men! Form on this line!" He managed to rally and regroup them at the summit of a hill to the rear.²⁰

Once again there was confusion. "During the engagement," Allen wrote in his official report, "Colonel Fagan, of the First Arkansas, sent word to Capt. H. M. Favrot, of the Delta Rifles, 'For God's sake to cease firing; that we were killing his men and he was killing ours.' Captain Favrot, being on the extreme right, gave the order to cease firing. While in this position a murderous fire of grape and canister was poured into us from the masked batteries and rifle pits."²¹

The regiment retired, formed again, and again charged. Allen's men were fearfully cut up. "We plunged into the thicket," recalled a member of the Fourth Louisiana, "unable to see the enemy. They did not let us get anywhere so near as at the first. Nevertheless, this time we delivered two or three volleys, before we fell back. We had lost heavily. I noticed that the underbrush was considerably thinned out by the enemy's fire, so fierce and concentrated were the volleys."²²

Once more Allen endeavored to collect the remnants of the brigade. At the same time he notified General Bragg by messenger that his regiment had suffered heavy casualties. Bragg reacted sternly:

"Tell Col. Allen I want no faltering now." ²³ Allen, startled and deeply offended by what he considered an unjust insinuation, rose in his stirrups, waved his men forward with his sword, and charged the Federal line again. The Louisianians, exposed to continuous fire from all directions, fell about him. Allen himself paused momentarily and clutched at his face. An enemy rifle ball, entering through his mouth, had torn part of his cheek away. He stuck a handful of cotton lint into the wound to stanch the flow of blood, tied a handkerchief around his jaw to hold the cotton in position and, as the enemy fire tore at his cloak and clothing, pushed on.

The gallantry he exhibited and his reassuring coolness under fire again enabled Allen to rally and inspire his men, many of whom were friends and acquaintances of more carefree days in West Baton Rouge. Young Thomas Chinn Robertson, who had grown up as a neighbor and been a frequent visitor to Allendale, "expected to see him fall every moment." ²⁴

The enemy line held. Allen's men hesitated and broke up into small, disorganized groups. Allen dismounted, snatched up the regimental flag, and with sword flashing and face bleeding, exhorted his men toward "as good a place as any to meet death!" ²⁵

A staff officer of General Beauregard caught sight of Allen trying to rally his troops. The officer later recalled: "There was Allen, his face tied up in a bloody handkerchief, with a bit of raw cotton sticking on his cheek . . . one minute entreating, praying, weeping, tears streaming as he implored the men to stand; the next moment, swearing, raging at them, abusing them, berating them, giving them every angry epithet he could think of; then addressing them in the most affectionate words." The men rallied and, Beauregard's aide concluded, "the last I saw of him he was off with them like a whirlwind into the thick of the battle. It made me both laugh and cry to watch him. He was a regular Murat—but instead of the '*white plume*,' it was the white speck of cotton and head tied up in the white handkerchief, that was always in the van." ²⁶

Allen never regarded any action of his as incongruous and never supposed anyone would laugh at him. Consequently he saw nothing amusing "in his making a desperate charge at Shiloh, with his head bound up in white cotton! . . . It was the best to be done under the circumstances!" ²⁷

Allen and his men surged forward to within fifty feet of the

enemy, and then flung themselves down. The opposing troops were so close that the flame from their rifles seemed to meet. The battle had reached its climax. Clouds of white smoke obscured all vision, but the battle continued. Riflemen on each side aimed low and fired into the smoke until, their gun barrels expanding, "it became more and more difficult to drive the ramrods home." Undeterred, the Louisianians reversed their guns and hammered the charges in by pounding the ramrods on the ground. Federal cannon tore into the ranks of the Fourth Regiment, but they held their ground. It was the enemy that broke, outflanked by another Louisiana regiment, the Thirteenth. The Federal troops drew back with the Fourth in pursuit. As the smoke cleared, the grim toll on both sides became apparent—the dead were "piled up in horrible confusion" where successive waves of the living had sought the protection of the dead.²⁸

Federal gunboat batteries began to hurl their great conical shells into the ranks of the advancing Confederates, cutting, tearing, and scattering bits of earth, tree, and humanity, with indiscriminate anger. One of these messengers of death lodged in front of Allen and his men, but a delayed explosion saved them.²⁹

By late afternoon the Fourth Regiment had followed the enemy to within a mile of the river. Their interest was focused on their own fragment of the battle. The Federal forces, they felt, had no alternative but to surrender or be wiped out. The Confederates certainly had the advantage and were eager to press it. Therefore, there was consternation and bewilderment when the order came to stop the advance.³⁰ General Albert Sidney Johnston had been mortally wounded in the attack, and Beauregard, who succeeded him, issued the order to halt—which many of the troops felt should never have been given. Most historians have been kinder in their evaluation of Beauregard's order.³¹ The men still able to press forward were nearing exhaustion, ammunition at the front was dwindling, and nightfall would only have brought further confusion and disorganization to inexperienced troops whose first lesson in war had already run to twelve hours. Night, moreover, was being hastened by lowering rain clouds.

As the command to halt was received, other troops swept between the Fourth Regiment and the enemy. Grudgingly, the Fourth retired to an area where Federal troops had camped the previous evening and prepared to spend the night. Some tried to sleep, others

lay resting but awake. "But hundreds of others, particularly the men from the rural sections, unused to . . . abundance . . . roamed about with lighted candles in their hands, hunting for plunder, especially coffee, salt, and blankets. Most . . . believed the enemy defeated and some concluded that the war was over anyway. The latter packed up what they thought valuable in the plunder and departed homewards." ³² Others curled up at last to sleep on stacks of three or four blankets. Allen, who shared a tent with Henry M. Favrot of the Delta Rifles, seemed quiet but was sleepless and troubled by his wound.

The following morning Allen, weak from pain and loss of blood, placed his regiment under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Samuel E. Hunter and rode over to the hospital to get relief. Allen's respite was only a brief one. "After having my wound dressed I was about lying down, in order to take a little rest, when a general stampede of wagons, ambulances, and men began. I mounted my horse immediately and rode after the disgraceful refugees. I succeeded in putting a stop to the stampede, and placed cavalry in the rear, with orders to cut down all who attempted to pass." ³³

The second day's fighting began as the Confederate troops were enjoying a breakfast of captured Federal bacon and coffee. The enemy had been reinforced and was advancing. Allen's troops had followed Hunter toward the front, moving in the shelter of a ravine. Emerging, they surprised a Union artillery force who speedily abandoned their cannon. But the Yankee battle line lay hidden nearby, and suddenly a force of bluecoats rose from the dead cornstalks and spattered the unsuspecting Southerners with rifle fire. They, in turn, were forced to leave all the cannon but two, which were laboriously dragged back to the ravine as a token of partial victory.

As the enemy moved forward, Allen, aware of the "general stampede," had rushed from the hospital. He did not, however, rejoin his own troops:

I met an aide of General Bragg, who ordered me to rally all the stragglers and form them in line. This I did. After forming a battalion Lieut. Col. Robert H. Barrow, commanding the Eleventh Louisiana, came to me with a remnant of his regiment and placed himself and regiment under my command. This force, together with the remnants of two Alabama and one Tennessee regiment, made a large body of men, who stood

firm in front of the hospitals, ready to receive the advancing columns of the enemy.

While rallying the stragglers I came across two batteries that had lost all their commissioned officers. These I took possession of, sent for ammunition, supplied them with men from my command, and sent one of them to General Beauregard. . . . The other battery and the forces under my command held their position in the very face of the enemy until ordered to be retired by command of General Bragg.³⁴

In his report on the day's fighting, Colonel Randall L. Gibson said: "Colonels Hodge (Nineteenth), H. W. Allen (Fourth Louisiana Volunteers), and Fagan (First Arkansas) were everywhere, stimulating officers and men to do their duty to their country."³⁵

The battle seesawed back and forth, but gradually the Southern forces withdrew. The Federals did not follow and, finally, Shiloh was abandoned. It was a victory for neither side.

Allen reported his loss—killed, wounded, or missing—of 15 officers and 194 men.³⁶ Heavy losses had been sustained on both sides, numbering 13,000 out of 63,000 Union troops engaged, and 11,000 out of 40,000 Confederates.³⁷

The Fourth Louisiana prepared to make camp for the night as the rain began in earnest. Many of the soldiers flung themselves down in the mud and rain and slept. Those who managed to do so were fortunate because about eight-thirty that night sleep was no longer possible. The enemy began to shell the camps. An hour later the Fourth assembled in the darkness and moved out. The men continued to march all night, stumbling over muddy ground and fording streams swollen neck-deep by the rains. Dawn crept upon them and the march continued. Finally, at ten in the morning, they were once again in Corinth.

Two days of waiting passed, but the enemy did not appear. The Fourth Louisiana was ordered to reoccupy Monterey. Allen and his men remained encamped there for one miserable, rain-soaked week; on April 16 they again left Monterey and marched all night toward Corinth. Shortly before dawn they arrived at a stream so swollen that the bridge across it was under water. A company of artillery was probing in the darkness for the bridge. One of the officers in the Fourth Louisiana produced a lantern, the bridge was located, and the guns safely moved across. Men and equipment followed as darkness turned into day. Allen, on horseback, watched his men struggle across the bridge, trying to keep their weapons and ammuni-

tion above water and at the same time maintain their footing as they maneuvered by the wagons and impediments of the artillery which still thronged the bridge. "Pretty bad, boys," he shouted over the roar of water. "Pretty bad. We didn't bargain for this. Not at all! But we will do it—yes, we will do it." ³⁸

A great many people were now awakening to the full horror of war; there were to be more battlefields than they had imagined. Allen's men, supported by the company of artillery, were to have a brief skirmish with Federal cavalry before reaching Corinth.

The Fourth remained at Corinth until May 2. Work with shovel and ax began again. Members of the regiment were sure that they had felled every tree for two miles in front of their position. A long roll of drums frequently indicated approaching enemy, but there were no encounters. Rumors were rampant. Chills, fever, dysentery, and malaria began to take their toll. Then, with the year of service for which they had volunteered almost at an end, the Confederate soldiers learned that the Confederate Congress had passed a conscription law (April 22, 1862). The draft period was extended to three years.

On May 2 the Fourth Regiment was ordered to Edwards' Station in Mississippi. The troops surrendered their weapons as they prepared to leave. Since arms were at a premium, these were to be distributed to units remaining on the line. The Fourth was boarding a troop train when the sound of cannon announced fighting at the front. Allen assembled his command, marched them to reclaim their weapons, and then reported to General Bragg. Bragg indignantly ordered him back to the railroad station. Allen was equally indignant: Why should he and his men ride away with the sounds of conflict ringing in their ears? Still, he obeyed. ³⁹

Most of the Fourth Louisiana were to be stationed temporarily at Edwards' Station, but Allen and a detachment proceeded to Vicksburg to assist in preparing defenses and mounting guns. Allen's face wound was still only partially healed. Early in June the entire regiment arrived in Vicksburg. Six batteries were to be constructed. Allen directed the construction of one of these, working under direct fire from the enemy. ⁴⁰

On June 28 the regiment was relieved of service at the batteries and went on picket duty. That same day a Union fleet, including forty gunboats, mortarboats, rams, and transports, appeared before

the town. Members of the Fourth Louisiana were among those who thronged to get a glimpse of the Confederate ram *Arkansas* as she dashed along a gauntlet of fire through the midst of the Federal fleet to join the defenders of Vicksburg. The *Arkansas* made her run successfully, although as her captain came ashore he reportedly remarked that he did not think the risk worth repeating. In the days that followed, all Federal attempts to sink or cripple the gunboat failed.

While Allen and his men were constructing the battery, they were able to catch frequent glimpses of soldiers across the Mississippi working on the canal which Grant hoped would divert the river's course. The Mississippi itself seemed determined to thwart this project, and eventually the Federals abandoned the idea of a canal. The siege of Vicksburg continued, however—punctuated by irregular bombardment day and night. Within the town, the residents made the most of a bad situation, even helping by entertaining the troops. An evening of singing required only human resources and, if some of these were fair and well-proportioned, any mournful ballad was enough for Henry Allen. Corn bread, sweet potatoes, and butter-milk were still available as refreshments, and occasionally a "coffee" was served "which was innocent of the fragrant berry, being really manufactured from okra dried and parched, or corn similarly treated." ⁴¹

Across the river in Tensas Parish, Sarah Dorsey intently followed the course of the war. "Allen was in the midst of it all; and we listened with anxious hearts to every gun fired on the devoted city, and the cry, '*O God! save Vicksburg! Let us keep the River,*' was never off our lips." Federal troops had raided the Dorsey plantation and had taken all the Negro men to help dig the canal across from Vicksburg. Then, as the canal project failed and the siege settled down, the planters continued working their crops. The Confederate government had requested that they plant no cotton. Inhabitants of the area anticipated other raids and had already removed some of their valuables. ⁴²

Toward the end of July, 1862, Allen and his men left Vicksburg for Camp Moore, Louisiana. Their ultimate mission was to help recapture Baton Rouge. News from downriver had not been good. New Orleans had fallen to a large Federal force on May 1. A week later Admiral David Farragut took possession of Baton Rouge and

his fleet swept up the river to Natchez, Vicksburg, and beyond. The Confederates were not strong enough to hold the river, but the Federals were not yet strong enough to control its banks. In New Orleans, General Benjamin F. Butler was fast acquiring his reputation as "The Beast." The Confederate government refused to recognize Butler's military position and declared him an outlaw and a felon. His order that ladies insulting his soldiers were to be regarded as prostitutes horrified the South. Tales of his greed, his treatment of the citizenry of New Orleans, and the barbarities of his henchmen shocked a people unprepared for the heel of the conqueror.

The Confederates could not afford to let Federal control of the Mississippi River go unchallenged. The Confederacy would be split in half. They had already allowed the Federal forces too firm a grip. On April 7, 1862, while the battle of Shiloh was under way, the Confederate Mississippi River fort Island No. 10, with its garrison of seven thousand, had fallen. By June 4 the last Confederate river fort had been evacuated; Memphis fell two days later. Natchez had a Federal occupation force. Vicksburg was the last Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi.⁴³

The South could not hope for a navy adequate enough to hold the river, but refused to be counted out. General Earl Van Dorn, now commanding the Confederate army east of the river, planned to restore the balance by recapturing Baton Rouge and New Orleans. General John C. Breckinridge, the former Democratic candidate for President, led the expedition. This was the force to which Allen and the Fourth Louisiana were attached. In fact, most of the troops under Allen's command had served in the defense of Vicksburg, and many were the worse for wear. Breckinridge's army remained a few days at Camp Moore while their commander and Van Dorn exchanged telegrams concerning gunboat support on the river. Van Dorn finally agreed to send the *Arkansas* to assist in the battle for Baton Rouge, although the plucky ram was only externally complete. On Sunday morning, August 3, the troops left Camp Moore headed west toward Louisiana's occupied capital.⁴⁴

Many of Breckinridge's men had fallen ill at Camp Moore. Those who were able began the two-day march to Baton Rouge; many fell out along the way. The weather was hot, the road dusty, the pace steady, and the halts for rest brief and far between. At night the men lay on the bare ground with the sky for cover. The country was

sparsely populated. Few people stood beside the road, and most of these were women and children who gazed in silence as the dusty troops trudged by. None of the marchers doubted that their movements were secret, and yet on the other side of the river:

Ah! What anxious prayers ascended from the hearts of the dwellers on the river-banks, as they watched, with clasped hands and streaming eyes, the Confederate flag floating out behind, borne at lightning speed on the staff at the stern of the *Arkansas*, knowing how important it was she should get to Baton Rouge in time to aid Breckinridge! How we calculated the hours and very minutes, and compared her speed! *She had not a minute to spare! We knew that!* but we dared not permit the thought, the fear, to come, which rested unspoken in our minds—that *she might be too late!* ⁴⁵

At the end of the second day's march, Breckinridge's army reached Greenwell Springs, a few miles east of Baton Rouge. One company, without a single commissioned officer able to stand, had an orderly sergeant in command. Some companies had only forty or forty-five men. Corn pone and beef comprised the evening meal, and most of the force fell quickly and silently into sleep. At 10 P.M., when the commanding general was informed that the *Arkansas* had passed Bayou Sara, an indication that she would reach her goal on schedule, the word was passed to break camp. Shortly after midnight the troops were in the vicinity of Baton Rouge, which was defended by a land force of about two thousand five hundred men, supported by several gunboats on the river.

The attackers found their positions and waited for the dawn. Tension mounted until an accident destroyed all the elements of surprise. Cavalry scouts, after encountering Northern pickets and exchanging shots, fell back in the darkness toward the Confederate lines. The Southern troops opened fire on what they thought were enemy horsemen, killing one, wounding several others, and completely alerting the defenders of the city. As drum rolls summoned the Federals to prepare for attack, Breckinridge, realizing that he could wait no longer, ordered his troops into battle without the *Arkansas*.

The Confederates pushed forward with the daylight. General Daniel Ruggles' command, on the left front, was the first to be engaged. There were two brigades under Ruggles. One of these (the Fourth and Thirtieth Louisiana and Lieutenant Colonel Samuel

Boyd's Louisiana Battalion) was under the command of Henry Allen. Four pieces of artillery were attached. The other brigade was under Colonel A. P. Thompson of Kentucky. Allen's brigade was on the extreme left with the artillery to the right and in contact with Thompson's brigade. Cavalry were sent out to protect the line from flanking attack.⁴⁶

General Ruggles' entire Second Division consisted of about seven hundred men. The skirmish line was dangerously thin and reserves of infantry and artillery were scanty. The fog was thick when Allen gave the order to advance. His men moved forward through woods, underbrush, cornfields, and fences and finally came to an open field bordered on the left by a thick hedge of chickasaw rose. Similar fences crossed the field. In this area Allen's men made contact with the enemy's pickets, who fired upon them as they struggled through underbrush and briar. The fog offered concealment to the forces on both sides. The Federal skirmishers facing the First Division, far to the Confederate right, fell back to their main line, which in turn withdrew toward the gunboats in the river.

Resistance on the Confederate left was more determined. Allen's troops were advancing, with the rose hedge on the left flank serving as guide through the fog, when a drummer boy "stumbled and fell, and broke the lacing of his shoe." He bent down to make the necessary repairs, a move which made it possible for him to see under the fog. "Only a short distance away he saw a row of rifle butts accompanied by a line of feet above which were some unmistakably *blue* trousers drawn up along the hedge." The boy quickly told his commander what he had seen, and Allen ordered a maneuver which would permit his men to face the enemy in front formation. This was done before the Federal force discovered their presence, and as the fog lifted, Allen's men poured a surprise volley into them which caused them to begin a retreat. By this time, however, a Federal artillery outfit found the range and showered Allen's troops with grapeshot.⁴⁷

Allen confirms the encounter in his official report. Dismounting from his sorrel horse, he crawled on hands and knees to scout the enemy artillery position. He reported that his troops "delivered several volleys in quick succession; the enemy fled in every direction, taking off his artillery with him. We started in pursuit, and after considerable desultory firing upon the retreating foe I discovered a

battery on the extreme left (said to be Nims'), supported by a large amount of infantry. . . . I ordered a movement to be made to the left and advanced in the direction of the battery." ⁴⁸

To encourage the Ninth Louisiana Regiment, which had not been under fire before, Allen personally carried their colors as he led the charge on the Federal cannon. He spurred his horse forward until he and those with him could see that one of the pieces was being loaded with grapeshot. Then he hurtled his horse and himself toward the muzzle of the gun, in what was later called "a grand and heroic impulse." ⁴⁹ Captain Thomas Bynum, of Boyd's battalion, described the charge: Allen led his men across three hundred yards of open field "under a galling fire of grape, canister, and Minie." He was within fifty paces of the cannon when it was fired. The horse and rider absorbed the full force of the blast and collapsed in a shattered heap. ⁵⁰ The flag of the Ninth crumpling beside them was caught up by one of Allen's men.

The charge was successful. A Confederate wave swept over the Union artillery, capturing men and guns. But once the battery had fallen, the men turned back to cluster around their stricken leader. According to Bynum's report, Allen's fall "was peculiarly unfortunate. It completely paralyzed his old regiment (the Fourth), at whose head he was, even in that moment of victory. Notwithstanding his repeated shouts to go forward, it became confused and huddled up, lost in a maze of stolidity and dismay." Colonel Gustavus Breaux reported: "The shock was terrible among the men of the Fourth Regiment, whose confidence seemed to repose mainly on him, and they withdrew in disorder bearing away their wounded chief. At a short distance I rallied them partially on the line formed by the regiment on the right of the brigade, but to no good, since enough could not be gathered to push on our advantage." ⁵¹

Allen had lost consciousness from shock and loss of blood before a litter could be brought up. Rough hands placed him as gently as possible upon it and carried him to a field hospital.

By a curious twist of fate, the Federal colonel commanding the brigade opposed to Allen in this action had earlier found quarters at Allendale and was mounted on the white horse he had confiscated from the Allen plantation. He watched Allen charge and fall. Although initially swept back in the confusion which followed, the

Federal colonel "rallied his men, returned and carried off his abandoned guns—Nims' Battery." ⁵²

On the battlefield Allen's brigade, after being rallied, remained in position for about two hours, exposed to the summer sun, awaiting further orders. Rumor had it that General Breckinridge was waiting for the *Arkansas*. Proceeding without her assistance appeared futile. The enemy gunboats still commanded the river, and occupying the city would only make it the target for their fire. The minutes crept by. About four o'clock it was learned that the *Arkansas* would not arrive. The ram had been within five miles of Baton Rouge when her machinery broke down. The necessary resources for repair were not available and Federal gunboats began to move in. ⁵³ Lieutenant Henry Stevens, commanding, sent his crew ashore and personally set fire to the *Arkansas* which, burning and adrift with every gun shotted, bore down upon the Federal gunboats. "It was beautiful to see her," said Stevens, "when abandoned by commander and crew, and dedicated to sacrifice, fighting the battle on her own hook." The ram gave battle until the end. One by one her guns discharged as the flames reached them. Finally the magazine exploded and the *Arkansas* and the hopes she had inspired were destroyed. ⁵⁴

Toward evening the Confederates began to fall back. By the following morning most of Breckinridge's forces were preparing to make camp on the Comite River about eight miles from Baton Rouge, although outposts were maintained within five miles of the city. There they waited for a Federal counterattack, but it did not come. Union forces, evacuating the capital, paused only to open the penitentiary doors as they left. As they retired toward New Orleans, the Confederate troops moved in. Allen remained hospitalized outside of Baton Rouge. ⁵⁵

Allen had been wounded about nine o'clock in the morning. Those of his troops who bore him from the field did their best to make him comfortable and stanch the flow of blood. Three hours later Breckinridge, hearing that he was still alive, dispatched Dr. Amzi Martin to see what could be done for him. Martin had his patient taken to the Granville Pierce home outside of Baton Rouge. Allen was told that at least one leg would have to be amputated, but he refused to allow it. Thereupon, Dr. Martin endeavored to save the legs of his patient. In the left leg, the doctor had only torn flesh

to contend with, but the bones of the right leg had been shattered. Skillfully and patiently, Dr. Martin labored to restore Allen to wholeness and health, although he may have suspected that preserving the one would be detrimental to the other. The surgeon remained at Allen's bedside almost continuously for three weeks.⁵⁶ Although Allen was not strong enough to move for four months, by August 18 he felt well enough to prepare the official report of his part in the battle of Baton Rouge.⁵⁷

Sarah Dorsey said that Dr. Martin was "quite as obstinate as his refractory patient, and *much more fiery* than Allen *was able* to be in the temporary calmness and weakness, produced by exhaustion from pain and great loss of blood." Allen was forced to submit to the doctor's strict regimen. The Fourth Louisiana kept watch over him and, as soon as he was out of danger, serenaded him with the regimental band. Boyd's battalion solemnly presented him with the colors he had carried before them into battle.

A week or two after the Confederate occupation of Baton Rouge, a friend en route to New Orleans visited Allen and wished to know if he wanted anything from the city. Allen's wants were simple: a jar of prunes, a little tea, and, ironically enough since Allendale was just across the river, some sugar. On his arrival in occupied New Orleans the friend was immediately surrounded by Federal officers eager to know the state of things in Baton Rouge, and, Allen recounted later, "they did us the honor of inquiring whether we could possibly live with both legs shot away." Among those inquiring about Allen was the colonel who several months earlier had quartered himself at Allendale and who had ridden off on Allen's white horse. The colonel was quite solicitous and personally supervised the acquisition of the items which Allen had requested. "Tell Colonel Allen," he said, "that I admire him for his bravery; that I saw him fall at the battle of Baton Rouge while leading his brigade gallantly in the fight and would have gone to his assistance, but it was rather too hot just then. Say to him that I took his horse from his plantation as a military necessity, but that, as God is my judge, when the war is over, I will return him his horse, or one equally as good."⁵⁸

On September 3, 1862, Allen wrote to a friend. He acknowledged that his right leg was giving him much trouble and that he feared he might never be well again. In the same letter Allen revealed that he was planning to "move off to some springs" as soon as he was able.

While suffering physically, Allen also worried about the reputation of his men who had allowed their concern for him to disrupt their military discipline. Had he seen the official reports of the battle, he would not have been concerned.⁵⁹

Toward the end of the year, recovered enough to get around on crutches, Allen was once again on his way. He went first to visit the Fourth Louisiana, then stationed at Port Hudson, Louisiana, on the river north of Baton Rouge. Mrs. Dorsey described the reunion as a touching scene as "scarred men pressed around him with shouts of applause. They seized his hands and kissed them; at last some of them picked him up in their arms, embraced him, and bore him aloft through their camp, cheering and weeping as they went. Allen wept like a child."⁶⁰

While recuperating, Allen occasionally felt strong enough to visit some of the neighboring plantations. Sarah Morgan, the young daughter of Judge Thomas Gibbes Morgan of Baton Rouge, recorded Allen's visit to Linwood, not far from Port Hudson. She was disappointed. She had heard of Allen as a dashing military hero who had a way with the ladies, but all she saw was a wasted cripple who had to be carried about by his solicitous companions. She also saw something in his face that few others ever noted there. (One cannot help remembering, however, when reading her words, the little boy who tried, years before, to hurtle the family wagon from a bridge.) Sarah Morgan wrote: "Monsieur struck me as being the last person one would be fascinated by. A dough face stood in the place of a handsome one; and as I looked at it, I could not help thinking, 'My friend, I know nothing of your history or tastes, but if you are not vicious, then I shall no longer believe in intuitive aversion.'"⁶¹

Allen remained at the Pierce home near Baton Rouge for four months, leaving there about December 6. Perhaps he exerted himself too soon. He reported that on Christmas day he was once again confined to bed, "given up to die, and suffering all the agonies of terrible wounds."⁶² Cooper's Well, however, did much to aid his recuperation.

Crossing the Mississippi

IN JANUARY, 1863, Allen resigned his commission, convinced that his military career was at an end. He changed his mind almost immediately, however, and asked that his commission be restored.¹ In February he declined an appointment to the military court at Jackson, Mississippi, because he believed he would soon be able to resume service in the field. Meanwhile, friends in Louisiana had prevailed upon Governor Thomas O. Moore to make Allen a major general in the Louisiana militia. This appointment easily secured the necessary legislative approval and on February 28 Allen took the oath of office.² He could not assume such a position, however, until he was able to recross the Mississippi. On March 17, although he was still unable to return to active duty, Allen's commission as colonel in the Confederate Army was reaffirmed.³

Superficially at least, prospects for the South appeared to be brightening. Overseas the long awaited pinch of a cotton shortage was beginning to be felt by Britain's textile industry. Armchair strategists at Cooper's Well, as elsewhere, were sure that the closing of mills and resultant unemployment would force the British government to act. Moreover, they saw that powerful and aristocratic friends of the South were already urging that government to extend recognition to the Confederacy. If Britain acted, France would follow. The pendulum was surely ready to swing back. Lee's victories were acknowledged by the world. In the West, too, the tide was turning. Vicksburg had held. The *Arkansas* in three weeks of glory had challenged Federal control of the Mississippi.

The final defense of Vicksburg was assigned to John Clifford

Pemberton, a Pennsylvanian whom marriage and sympathy had brought to the Confederate cause. However, this stern professional soldier remained an outsider and was not popular with his troops, many of whom abhorred discipline and regarded war as a personal and individual enterprise. Pemberton had a vast expanse of river front to protect with isolated garrisons which, by placement and by nature, resisted coordination. Grand Gulf was fifty miles by river below Vicksburg. Port Hudson was a considerable distance below Grand Gulf. In this rather futile position, faced with the necessity of defending Vicksburg, warding off landings on the river, and preventing any overland invasions of the area under his command, Pemberton could not expect enthusiastic and reliable support from his superiors or from his troops.

The Confederacy was about to become embroiled in a kind of war which its supporters had not envisioned. The Emancipation Proclamation, signed by Lincoln on January 1, 1863, led to a new attitude among the military forces of the North. They were now crusaders fighting for the abolition of slavery and might justly despoil those who, in depriving others of human dignity, had forfeited their own. Crusades are never civil wars and crusaders are never nice.

A new push was on. The spring of 1863 was vivid in Mrs. Dorsey's memory; that which "we planters, living in Louisiana below the famous '*Canal*,' had been anticipating, came to pass." ⁴ Union forces under the command of Ulysses S. Grant pressed southward along the west bank of the river. Near New Carthage, about eight miles north of Lake St. Joseph, a small group of Confederates tried unsuccessfully to stop the advancing Union troops. They fell back, burning bridges as they went. Gradually it became apparent to those along the line of march that Grant's entire force was on the move and that the blow was aimed at Vicksburg. The levees were long since broken and only the ridges remained above water. The bank of Lake St. Joseph formed one such ridge and along it ran a road now swarming with Union troops. Many homes were situated on this ridge—the war had come to Sarah Dorsey's doorstep.

Most of the residents fled at the approach of the Federals. We had no right to expect from them any better treatment than other Southerners had received where their army had gone. There were only non-combatants among us, old men, women, and children; every young man of our blood . . . was already a volunteer in the Southern army. It was a terrible day for

us. . . . We fled in every direction—some, in skiffs, sought a refuge in the impenetrable swamps—others crossed the river, seeking a vain security among the hills of Mississippi. On all the plantations an overseer was left to take charge of the place and negroes. . . . The Federals took a delight in the most wanton destruction of every thing.⁵

Grant's forces, supported by gunboats, were ferried to the east bank of the Mississippi about fifty miles south of Vicksburg, at Bruinsburg. Their beachhead, although stoutly resisted, was successful. Port Gibson was occupied on May 1, and Grant struck to the northeast, toward Jackson, the capital of Mississippi. By May 7, in General Order No. 32, Grant informed his men: "The triumph gained over the enemy near Port Gibson . . . is one of the most important of the war. . . . The possession of Grand Gulf, and firm foothold upon the highlands between the Big Black and Bayou Pierre, from whence we threaten the whole line of the enemy, are among the fruits of this brilliant achievement."⁶

Pemberton's response to Grant's challenge was indecisive. Jefferson Davis ordered him to hold Vicksburg; Joe Johnston told him to take to the field. Pemberton divided his forces in an attempt to satisfy both.

The war again affected Henry Allen; he could not remain at Cooper's Well. He made his way to Jackson, Mississippi, where he had another brush with death when, on June 10, the hotel in which he was lodging burned to the ground. Three days later he wrote his friend Colonel Samuel E. Hunter from Mobile that his legs were no better and that he had "suffered much at the Bowman House, Jackson, in escaping from the fire."⁷ Allen continued to seek nature's remedy; a letter dated June 17 indicates that he was, then at Bladon Springs, Alabama.⁸

Vicksburg surrendered, after a six months' siege, on July 4, 1863. A few days later Port Hudson surrendered. The Mississippi River was now completely in the hands of the Federal forces, and the Confederacy was divided. This development, especially to those in the Southwest, was a staggering but not a final blow. "The river was lost to us. Divided in half we tried to exist still," Mrs. Dorsey remembered. "We were not utterly hopeless yet!"⁹

Allen was hardly in condition to travel; he was still on crutches and frequently in pain. Nevertheless, in August of 1863 he was in Rich-

mond, Virginia, where Jefferson Davis rewarded his military acumen and daring by making him a brigadier general.

On August 21 James A. Seddon, the Confederate Secretary of War, informed Edmund Kirby Smith, commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, that Allen had been ordered to report to him "with instructions to rendezvous certain regiments of paroled prisoners at Shreveport or such other points as you may designate. He is likewise expected, by his personal influence and exertions, to bring back to the service many stragglers and deserters, and recruit his forces from those not accessible. . . . Should this expectation prove delusive, you will best know to what duty to assign this officer, who has justly won a high character for gallantry and ability." Seddon also informed Kirby Smith that he had written him several letters, but "should those communications have failed to reach you, the letter to General Johnston, inclosed, will possess you of my views, which have likewise been explained orally to General Allen."¹⁰

Although no convention was called to nominate state officials in 1863, Allen's name began to appear in newspapers on the state ticket as a candidate for governor of Louisiana. Allen may not have known of his nomination while in Virginia, but he seems to have been cognizant of it by the time he reached Mobile on his way back. His old friend Fulkerson reported: "I traveled with him a whole day subsequently, from Mobile, as he was on his way to cross over to Louisiana after his nomination for Governor. Though on crutches at that time, he was wonderfully cheerful and hopeful, his sanguine temperament sustaining him through every adversity."¹¹

Crossing the Mississippi would not be easy. The river was closely patrolled by Federal troops and the Federal fleet. Once back in Mississippi, Allen made his way to a parole camp which had been established near the town of Enterprise. He and Captain Benjamin W. Clark, a former subordinate officer whom he had selected as adjutant, were in search of volunteers to accompany them across the river. They not only acquired volunteers but also a problem. Major J. F. Springer of the Third Louisiana Regiment was on special duty at the camp and had some thirty thousand rounds of ammunition and \$1.5 million in Confederate money which also had to be taken across the Mississippi.

Allen and nine men (including Springer) with two wagons and a

skiff mounted on wheels left *Enterprise* headed west toward the river. They made their way across the southern part of the state to the vicinity of Woodville, and from there to Fort Adams, north of the Louisiana line. Late in September they made an attempt to cross the river, but nearly fell into the hands of Federal troops and only escaped by leaving behind them the bulk of their supplies. These were replaced and they prepared for another attempt. Major Springer, who apparently still had the money and ammunition, decided to await a more auspicious occasion and remained at Woodville while Allen and the others went up the river, hoping to find a place to cross. Early in October this small band was encamped on the grounds of Oakland College.¹²

Henry Allen was back in Claiborne County; Montgomer Plantation was not far away. But he did not visit Salome's grave. He was not sure of his welcome at Montgomer. Moreover, there were Federal troops in the area.

Once again an attempt was made to cross the river. This one was successful, though Allen barely escaped being captured by a Federal gunboat.¹³ Once across the river, he was in Tensas Parish, Louisiana. It is possible that Mrs. Dorsey was still in the neighborhood. She and Samuel Dorsey, who was not well, had fled their Elkridge Plantation home in Tensas in April of 1863. However, they had another plantation in Franklin Parish, not far away, and were there for at least two months after leaving Elkridge. Either by the time of Allen's crossing or shortly thereafter, she and her husband "deemed it advisable . . . to remove from the theater of war to a place in Texas." They were definitely in Texas by October 31, 1863, but this allows considerable leeway.¹⁴

Allen arrived in Alexandria on October 11, 1863. The next day he addressed a letter to Secretary of War Seddon. "Things over here look gloomy," he wrote. "The enemy are reported advancing in force and the people are desponding."¹⁵ Allen also communicated with Generals Kirby Smith and Richard Taylor and prepared to assemble his brigade.

His return to Louisiana did not go unnoticed, even by the Yankees. The New Orleans *Era* on October 28 informed its readers that "Gen. Allen, of the Rebel army . . . promoted to a brigadier-generalship by Jefferson Davis, was ordered recently to the West to reorganize the Port Hudson and Vicksburg prisoners. Allen is one of the best fight-

ing-men the Rebels have in the Southwest, and is quite popular with the rank and file." ¹⁶

Allen, although still on crutches and able to walk only with difficulty even with their support, exhibited his characteristic energy. By the end of October he had transferred his headquarters to Shreveport and had issued General Order No. 1, designating the places where companies were to assemble and naming the commanding officer for each. When he resigned his commission as the new year began, it was not because he found the job too difficult but in order to take on a more arduous one, that of governor of Louisiana. ¹⁷

With the capture of New Orleans and the extension of Federal control in the state, Louisiana had acquired two state governments. In occupied Louisiana, General Benjamin F. Butler appointed a military governor, and congressmen were elected. Federal jurisdiction was primarily confined to the southern part of the state and along the Mississippi River where Union troops were in occupation. The amount of territory under Confederate control was proportionate to Federal failure. Although between thirty and forty parishes continued to recognize the Confederate government, by mid-1863 nineteen parishes were completely under Federal control. Some of these managed to have "governments in exile." Occupation of New Orleans and other heavily populated areas gave the Federals control of the bulk of the state's population.

Needless to say, the Confederate state capital could no longer be maintained at Baton Rouge. After the fall of New Orleans in May, 1862, Governor Moore established a temporary capital at Opelousas, in southwestern Louisiana. This, too, proved unsatisfactory and after a short period in which the state capital was actually located at Moore's plantation at Alexandria, the capital was moved to Shreveport, where the legislature convened in May, 1863.

Governor Moore addressed the legislators in June. The situation was tenuous. Some fifty thousand Louisianians had been mustered into Confederate service. The large number serving outside the state made it impossible for the governor to enforce the militia law which the legislature had passed earlier at Opelousas. The governor had also failed to authorize the printing and distribution of more than half of the treasury notes previously voted by the legislature, since he feared that the resulting inflation would destroy the credit of the state and handicap private business. Moore proposed that some of the

funds appropriated for poor relief be applied to the purchase of cotton cards to be resold at cost.¹⁸ He recommended that the distillation and consumption of alcohol be discouraged by ban or taxation. He also urged the legislature to take whatever action was necessary to maintain state government and to make provisions for electing his successor.

The legislature set to work aware that many of the problems facing the state were beyond its control. Much of the session was devoted to the war effort. Governor Moore was authorized to place all white males between the ages of seventeen and fifty in the state militia. There were to be no exemptions and no substitutes. The period of service was to be not less than ninety days and not more than a year. An appropriation of \$1 million was voted to purchase two ironclad gunboats for state service. Negro slaves taking up arms against the Confederate cause were to be executed.¹⁹

The dangers inherent in the issuance of an insufficiently backed paper currency were becoming increasingly apparent throughout the South. Yet the need for money existed. The Confederate government lacked metal for small coins. United States, English, French, Spanish, and Mexican coinage was admitted as legal tender. When this failed to meet the demand, paper money was issued by the central government, states, cities, and banks and other private businesses. The Louisiana legislators authorized chartered banks to issue notes of one dollar or less when needed to provide a medium of exchange.

The legislature responded to the governor's recommendation for prohibiting the manufacture of intoxicating beverages. It made further funds available for the benefit of sick and wounded soldiers, their dependents, and those people who had been expelled or made homeless by Federal occupation. The legislature also adopted a resolution extending its sympathy to the mother whose son, "Stonewall" Jackson, had recently been killed at Chancellorsville.

The legislature ended its session on June 20, agreeing to reconvene in January of 1864 wherever the capital might be at that time. Arrangements also were made for an election of state officials and congressmen on the first Monday in November.

Henry Allen was nominated for governor in August of 1863, probably while he was still in or near Richmond. There was no convention; his name simply appeared in the paper under the State Ticket. It was an unusual campaign for Louisiana—quiet and un-

eventful. None of the candidates was active in his own behalf. There were no public gatherings, no barbecues. On election day Allen received an overwhelming majority of the votes cast.²⁰

The governor-elect, still unable to walk without crutches, immediately launched an exhausting four-week tour of unoccupied Louisiana. A governor, he felt, should know the condition and needs of the people. He traveled across the northern part of the state, turned south to Alexandria, and then made his way up the Red River Valley, arriving once more at Shreveport two days before Christmas.²¹

An address which Allen delivered in Alexandria on December 11 is an example of his speeches elsewhere during his tour. He told the people he had come to answer two questions: "What is the condition of our armies and of the Confederacy?" and "When will the war end?" He was optimistic. Militarily, the situation was hopeful. He overestimated the number of Confederate troops in the field, and he did not feel that supplying them with food, clothing, and munitions for an indefinite period was an insurmountable problem if everyone contributed to the war effort. The struggle probably would end within the year, since Lincoln would not be able to maintain troops in the field to continue the war. If this estimate were wrong, however, Allen "would rather fight on until the last Confederate was slain than ever again come under the control of the Federal government or form any new political union with our barbarous enemies." He would ask as the first condition of a return to the Federal union that "our hundred thousand gallant dead should be restored to life, that our weeping orphans and widows should be healed of their sorrow, that our great sacrifices should all be repaid to us, that our stolen, corrupted and slaughtered slaves should be returned to us with all the material prosperity which we enjoyed before the waging of this wanton, cruel, and most barbarous war."²²

The reception which awaited Allen four days later at Natchitoches, farther up the Red River Valley, is also a matter of record. A considerable number of people had already gathered at the Episcopal church, waiting to welcome their "war-worn hero." A couple of local citizens helped the crippled new governor to the stand.

As he walked up the aisle, the attention of the congregation was riveted upon him. Cheer after cheer attested the people's appreciation of the man who had led their battles, and who was now called to preside over the destinies of the State. His appearance itself was an appeal to the patriotism

of the people. . . . His address was that of a patriot, statesman, and soldier, and was followed by thunders of applause from the audience.²³

On January 20, 1864, Governor Moore submitted his final report to the Louisiana Legislature. No taxes had been collected; expenses had been met by issuing state bonds. Moore considered this a bad policy; the bonds were depreciating, and unless the situation were remedied, he predicted economic disaster. Three hundred thousand dollars had been spent by the state to aid Louisiana refugees in Mobile. Militarily, Louisiana was furnishing its share of troops. Fifty-two thousand were in the field, and over ten thousand were in local reserve corps. Moore favored an increase in local reserve strength to assist in the maintenance of order and to resist invasion. He thought that the officers assigned to enforce the Confederate impressment acts had exceeded their authority. He recommended that slaves be used in the army for digging ditches, driving wagons, and similar tasks in order to release soldiers for more important duties.

Five days later Moore introduced the incoming governor. Henry Allen, pale and emaciated, leaned upon the podium and delivered his inaugural address.²⁴ He told the people that he was entering upon the duties of his office with the "proud satisfaction" that he had their confidence. He had not asked for the job; it had been thrust upon him. He promised to serve the state faithfully, honestly, and zealously. Much of the state was occupied by the Federal forces, but those in unoccupied Louisiana must fight on. Was not the United States, at that moment, "offering terms of peace"?

Henry Allen asked in a voice quavering with emotion:

Peace? Great God! Peace to whom? Peace to you whose brothers have been slain—whose lands have been despoiled—whose homes have been burned—whose wives and whose daughters have been basely insulted! 'Tis the voice of the murderer with bloody hands reeking from his assassination, who now proposes terms of amity to the brother of his bleeding victim! 'Tis the incendiary outlaw who returns from burning your houses and despoiling your lands! 'Tis the black hearted villian who has insulted your wives and daughters, and who now asks you to take a seat around his loathsome fireside and bask in the smiles of his own licentiousness! Forbid it, Almighty God! Let there be no peace between us.²⁵

With three years of war and sacrifice behind them, Louisianians should never on any terms go back to the Union. They had suffered; much of their territory had been despoiled. Their homes had been

stripped and burned. Beast Butler had come to New Orleans. Allen pyramided damning phrase upon damning phrase in enumerating the crimes of Butler the Beast, the Verres of the modern world. Nor was Butler unique among Federals. "The army and the navy rob—commanding Generals and Commodores steal. Some fancy a likely negro girl, others prefer a carriage and horses, while a third will take your piano or your wife's silk dresses. There is a wild hunt for plunder, a mania for stealing, from the Major General down to the humblest private in the ranks. And all this is done in the nineteenth century, and countenanced, yea, applauded, by the people who read the Bible and claim to be Christians!"

Allen then offered his people a program. He had recently toured the unoccupied parishes of the state and had found that the greatest needs were cotton cards and medicines. He complimented the patriotic ladies who were working so hard to provide their sons and brothers with uniforms. He intended to recommend that the legislature enact a law to give every woman in Louisiana above the age of eighteen a pair of cotton cards, free of charge. He asked that the governor be empowered to take whatever steps were necessary to see that medicine was distributed throughout the state. Those who had been forced to flee their homes would soon be able to return again. "O, Mothers of Louisiana, God Almighty bless you in this your hour of trial! Kiss your gentle babes and send your sons to battle. . . . The vandal hosts of the destroyer will be hurled back to their homes, and peace, gentle peace, with healing in his wings, will come and bind up the broken hearts, and bless our distracted land."

The soldier must continue to do his duty but, Allen reminded them, so must the members of the legislature and also the people at home. A legislative duty was to see that the dependents of the soldier in the field were provided for. The wealthy in the state must show charity to the poor and the needy. Allen advised them not to be weary in well-doing if they would be held in esteem by their countrymen.

There were, he warned,

a few men in our midst, who seem to take no interest whatever in this war. They send their negroes to labor on the public works through compulsion, and pay their taxes grudgingly. They stay at home and hoard up their riches with miserly care, and leave the soldiers to fight their battles in the field. The talent which you have received and digged and hid in the earth shall be taken from you, if we fail, the robber will lay his rough

and heavy hands upon your lands and your slaves, and neither you nor your children will ever enjoy them again. What are your broad acres and your hundreds of slaves compared to the issues of the great struggles now going on in this country.

What of the Negro? Allen had no doubts on this point. "The status of the negro race has been fixed by the immutable laws of God, and the Yankee at home does not wish to change it even if he could." The Negro would continue to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water.

If when this war is ended there should be found alive any negroes in the hands of the enemy, they will have a hard time indeed. They will not be permitted to labor on the railroads, the canals, or the public works of any kind, for the Irish and the Dutch will rise in mobs and drive them off. Yankee society will not educate them for the bar, the bench, or the pulpit. Yankee pride will not tolerate their intermarriage with the whites. Driven from the social circle and all the industrial pursuits of life, what will become of the poor negro? As a drifeling outcast, he will become a mendicant wanderer. His doom will be the prison and the work-house.

Slavery would be preserved. In the future it would rest on a firmer basis than ever, since then it would be better and more wisely administered. Slavery would triumph because it was right and just in the sight of Almighty God. The Bible sanctioned it and sacrilegious Yankees could not destroy it. A future historian, Allen said, might close his account of this struggle and Southern victory by noting that "master and servant were found in the ranks, side by side, fighting bravely, shoulder to shoulder, for the independence which they have so gloriously achieved, and for the liberties which they now enjoy."

In his address Allen lashed out at Confederate authority by joining Governor Moore in calling attention of the general assembly to the "unauthorized and illegal manner" in which the impressment act had been executed in Louisiana. "Officers, or those claiming to be officers of the Confederacy, in making their illegal impressments, have added insult to injury. This must be stopped, and I shall look to you for the passage of a law making such offences a felony, and punishable by imprisonment in the State Penitentiary. The people must and shall be protected in all their civil rights."

The legislators must guard the rights and secure the liberties of the people of Louisiana. They must practice the strictest economy and at the same time spare no expense in this struggle. "Stand not upon dollars and cents, when the safety of your country requires your

action. Let every man who owes service to his country go to the army. Let every man who stays at home do his duty—frown down extortion and vice in every shape and form. Be true to yourselves, and leave the rest to God. Be true to yourselves, and the country is safe.”

Henry Watkins Allen, unmindful of his faltering legs, was prepared to lead his people to victory.

Governor of Confederate Louisiana

THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE in Shreveport was located in a small, unpretentious looking building. The "governor's mansion," which Allen shared with his staff officers, was a three-room house on what is today Allen Avenue. In these surroundings Allen continued to function as a gracious host, and his home served as a convenient meeting place for personal friends, political associates, and military officials.¹ Allen usually dominated the conversation, which often dealt with his life and deeds. This hardly ingratiating fact is somewhat redeemed, however, by the information that "one of his favorite topics was his work on the capitol grounds in Baton Rouge."²

Allen retained Major Edmund W. Halsey, who had served Governor Moore, as private secretary. Halsey was born in New York state but grew up in Kentucky. Although he had been admitted to the Kentucky bar, he never practiced law. He turned instead to journalism, drifted south, and settled in Shreveport.³ Halsey's dedicated friendship was one of the things Allen could count on for the rest of his life.

The day after his inauguration as governor, Allen delivered his first message to the legislature. The program he proposed followed, in general, that of the previous administration. He called for a state guard, asked for more stringent laws against the manufacture and importation of liquor, requested liberal appropriations for the relief of soldiers' dependents, and recommended a pension of eleven dollars per month for each Louisianian wounded while in service. He asked for legislative help in stopping unjust impressment in Louisiana. He recommended an appropriation of \$1 million for the purchase and

distribution of cotton cards to every woman in the state over eighteen years of age. Another half-million-dollar request was for the purchase of medicine to be distributed either free or at cost.

The same financial problems faced Allen as had faced Governor Moore. Allen proposed to exchange all state treasury notes for state bonds, payable twenty years after the war ended. To tighten state control of paper money, he suggested that all other issuing agencies within the state call in their notes varying from ten cents to one dollar to facilitate transactions and provide a uniform currency. No state taxes should be collected by force.

The new governor requested the legislature to provide that free persons of color be enrolled and subject to the call of the governor for any work which he might designate. Some of these programs had evolved in Allen's mind when he was still a legislator. He called for a geologic survey of the state, convinced that lead, sulphates, and iron could be found and exploited. With the proper utilization of its raw materials, the state could approach self-sufficiency. This would also require an emphasis upon manufacturing. Allen recommended the establishment of a mining and manufacturing bureau. Attached to this bureau would be a laboratory for preparing indigenous medicine.

Nearly all of Allen's program was adopted and set in motion by the legislature within a few weeks. The legislators also indicated confidence by appropriating large sums of money for executive use. Negotiations were to begin immediately for the importation of food, medicine, and cotton cards. The financial situation was to be eased by purchasing cotton within the state and selling it at a profit to purchasers outside the Confederacy.⁴

Brownsville, Texas, was the back door through which many desperately needed supplies entered the Confederate South. This trade continued even after the Federal fleet had established an effective blockade at the mouth of the Rio Grande. Some of the continued flow was made possible by Confederate collusion with Mexican officials. Much of it was made possible by the enterprise of Juan Quintero, Cuban by birth, Texan by preference, who in spite of United States agents, Mexican governments, outlaws, and foreign agents worked diligently to get cotton out and guns in for the benefit of the Confederacy.⁵ Throughout the last year of the war Union, Confederate, Imperialist, and Juarista forces, established within a few miles of each other, were

too busy trading to fight. As the world price of cotton rocketed upward, fortunes were made.⁶ The state of Louisiana, in financial destitution, sought to garner its share of the market.

When the legislature adjourned, Allen was already negotiating contracts for the purchase and transportation of cotton. Contractual agents, under bond to safeguard the interests of the state, were to receive 25 per cent of the proceeds and return the other 75 per cent to the state in the form of medicine, cotton cards, and other supplies.

Some Louisiana cotton was sent to Houston and Galveston and sold to the blockade runners; other shipments were made via San Antonio, to Eagle Pass, Texas. Brownsville, however, was the usual destination. Records are not available of the exact amount of business involving cotton conducted by the state, but it was probably extensive. Letters and telegrams between Allen and Emory Clapp, who became the chief Louisiana agent in Texas, were exchanged almost daily. Clapp was only one of many such agents. Some state agents were involved in buying cotton; others, in transporting it out of the state. Still others handled business arrangements in Texas and Mexico. Agents designated to buy cotton were appointed in nearly all of the unoccupied parishes.⁷

To conduct this cotton trade Allen had to cope with both military and civilian Confederate authority. The official hope that a cotton embargo would win the war by securing European recognition for the Confederacy was a major obstacle. A great deal of cotton had already been destroyed rather than allowed to fall into Federal hands. Sarah Dorsey recalled standing on the balcony of her home in 1862 and seeing "volumes of smoke ascending on every side, for miles and miles, which marked the spots where the planters were burning their crops of cotton, in obedience to Beauregard's order, in the face of the gunboats ascending the Mississippi River."⁸ When Allen became governor, the policy of cotton burning had already weakened somewhat in the Trans-Mississippi Department. Even Kirby Smith was sending impressed cotton through Texas to exchange for supplies. This trade was handled by the cotton bureau of the department, which, under Confederate law, was also responsible for issuing permits for any out-of-state shipment of cotton.

Louisiana had difficulty securing all the necessary permits. Allen frequently had to call upon the good offices of Kirby Smith when military authorities threatened to disrupt the cotton trade.⁹ Occasion-

ally the relationship between the general and Allen was strained. Many of the planters preferred to sell their cotton to the state rather than have it impressed by Kirby Smith and his cotton bureau. On other occasions Allen agreed to protect cotton "as if the property of the State of Louisiana." The owners were to transport it at their own expense. When it reached Matamoras, they were "to sell the same—and all they should receive for the same over and above twenty three cents per pound in gold, they were to give to Governor Allen for his protection and assistance."¹⁰ The state of Louisiana might benefit from such transactions, but they were regarded with disfavor by Confederate authorities.

Others sought ways and means of getting their cotton through the lines into Federal territory to sell it there.¹¹ At times Allen felt even this was tolerable, and John M. Sandidge, his chief of ordnance, concurred.¹² In December, 1864, the cotton in the Ouachita Valley was in danger of falling into Federal hands, and Kirby Smith prepared to burn it. Allen's protest was vigorous and successful. "If the procuring of army supplies justified the sale of cotton to Federals (as I believe)," he argued, "it cannot surely be criminal for the poor people who own a few bales of cotton, to sell it for food, when they have no other resource."¹³

The legislature responded liberally to Allen's plea for a pair of cotton cards in the hands of every Louisiana woman. Allen's agents were also commissioned to buy wool cards for the state. Clothing and cloth had been largely imported before the war. These items now had to be produced at home. Thanks to the sale of cotton, tens of thousands of cards flowed into the state, but the need continued.¹⁴ Looms taken from the state penitentiary in Baton Rouge and moved to Clinton were distributed. Finally, Allen took steps to introduce the manufacture of cotton cards to Louisiana. In his annual message in 1865 he announced that a state-owned factory, operating three machines, was producing a thousand pairs a month. At the beginning of 1865 the state also had two cotton cloth manufacturing plants in operation. A ropewalk near Minden was producing cotton rope by July, 1864.

Medicine was short and prices were prohibitive. The Federal forces had declared it contraband of war. The legislature appropriated funds authorizing the governor to establish a state laboratory. Allen turned to his former physician, Dr. Amzi Martin. As surgeon general of the

Louisiana state troops, Martin had control of the state laboratory and of the stores that dispensed the medicine.¹⁵

In the meantime, Allen's agents in Mexico were purchasing medical supplies. Mercury, licorice, and phosphorus were among the items supplied from this source. Materials that could not be manufactured from indigenous products continued to be obtained through Mexico. The actual management of the laboratory was in the hands of Dr. Bartholomew Egan. On February 24, 1864, Allen wrote Egan: "You will purchase and put up such machinery as you may think proper, in order to meet the wants of suffering people. I have this matter much at heart and wish you to enter at once on the duties of your office. I suggest that you make your headquarters at Minden and immediately advertise for indigenous barks, roots, herbs, etc."¹⁶

The laboratory was established on the site of a former college at Mount Lebanon. Some of the buildings were converted into a hospital which was soon filled to capacity. Egan was given authorization to secure, by impressment if necessary, all required materials. In November, Allen received a sample of the medicinal whiskey produced there. The governor was anxious for the laboratory to find a substitute for quinine, but this venture was unsuccessful. By January, 1865, enough turpentine and medicinal whiskey were being manufactured to supply the needs of Louisiana. Beginning in December of 1864, Dr. Martin informed the public through the *Shreveport News* of a large and general assortment of medicines available at the state dispensary in Shreveport. The following month Governor Allen reported to the legislature that the state was operating two turpentine distilleries, one castor oil factory, one establishment for making carbonate of soda, two distilleries for pure medicinal alcohol, and two laboratories for indigenous medicines.

The medical dispensary at Shreveport was a profitable investment for the state. In January, 1865, Allen reported net profits of about fifty thousand dollars in a five-month period. In the entire course of its operation the store paid into the treasury \$793,925.84. In his medicinal venture, as in everything else, Allen did not neglect the people across the river in the Florida parishes.¹⁷

Recognizing the need for iron, much of it to be used in the production of cooking utensils, Allen arranged for the state of Louisiana to buy a quarter interest in iron works in Davis County, Texas.¹⁸ To utilize the iron thus produced, the state acquired control of a

Shreveport foundry which was in full production by the spring of 1865. Although he approved of this temporary expedient, Allen did not like the idea of going out of the state for raw materials. A mining and manufacturing bureau was established, and a geologic survey of the state was completed late in 1864.¹⁹ Time, however, was running out.

Salt was an important factor in the South during the war. In inland regions especially, salt was in such short supply that the dirt from smokehouse floors was sometimes boiled to salvage the salt left by drippings. On the coast, similar labor was more productive as women, children, and old men worked to extract salt from the sea. Louisiana's governor supervised the salt works in the northern part of the state and took an active interest in the Avery Island salt mine, where an apparently inexhaustible supply of salt promised to satisfy the salt hunger of the lower South. Through the efforts of John Sandidge, an agreement between Judge D. D. Avery and the state provided for the needs of the people.²⁰

In almost all his endeavors, Allen successfully obtained the services of able and energetic men who, as his own enthusiasm inspired theirs, labored diligently to develop the resources of the state and to supply the needs of the people. "Nobody about him," said Mrs. Dorsey, who had personally observed him at work, "had a sinecure office; but he worked himself more indefatigably than any one. Who could complain, when they saw how he taxed his own energies and drained, wounded frame?"²¹

Allen appointed agents in all of the parishes to distribute food, clothing, medicine, and other necessities to the poor. In his charities he recognized need without distinction; wounded and disabled soldiers of all states of the Confederacy were treated alike; none was refused. He published notices "*To disabled Louisiana soldiers*" requesting that the state be allowed to give them relief and aid. Allen was equally solicitous of the welfare of the troops from Missouri, whose homes were in Federal hands. Since they were guests of Louisiana, he was anxious that they be provided for. Mrs. Dorsey felt that this attitude toward "the adopted sons of Louisiana" clearly revealed the "capacious heart of 'the governor,'" adding that he "was amply repaid by the passionate gratitude of these gallant men, who would have followed him to the end of the world, at a word."²²

When the already suffering people of the Red River Valley bore

the brunt of General N. P. Banks's invasion—which reached its destructive climax with the burning of Alexandria—Allen was quick to provide relief with medicine, food, clothing, and livestock to those who suffered from Federal depredation.

In his determination to relieve suffering, Allen instructed his relief committee not to question the sentiments of those needing help. The *Louisiana Democrat* acknowledged that “the families of those in the Confederate, Federal and Jayhawker service were all supplied alike. He had but one object in view, to afford instant relief to the needy.”²³

One friend of Allen described a visit to the executive office where he found “the Governor seated before the fire, between two country-women—soldiers’ mothers,—all three taking a comfortable smoke, with their pipes.” Some ladies of Louisiana, those whom Sarah Dorsey would explain were from the less-educated classes, smoked and dipped snuff, and “Allen was too courteous a gentleman not to conform immediately to the customs of ‘Ladies.’ So, as he rather enjoyed a pipe, he would join them very sociably. He liked, too, to study the peculiarities of human nature. And his companions had a double claim on his affections,—they were women, even if old ones, soldiers’ mothers and Louisianians.” The visitor described the conversation which took place on this occasion:

“Well, Governor, we come to bother you again, you are such a good friend to us poor women. Now, Gov., we got the corn you sent us, but we ain’t got no hoes and no plows to plant it with.” The Governor took his pipe from his mouth, and turning to his Secretary, said: “Mr. Halsey, give these ladies an order for a plow and two hoes, free of charge.” “But Gov.” they continued, “we want some meal, and some meat, and some sugar, and some molasses.” “Mr. Halsey, give the order for these articles.” The women received the orders, knocked the ashes from their pipes, shook hands with Allen, and started out of the room; but halting at the door, said, “Well, Gov. we hate to bother you so much. You are the best man alive. We all are going to name our next grandchildren after you; but we forgot, we want a well-rope and a—pig.” “Ladies,” said the Governor kindly, but with a perceptible smile curling around the corners of his mouth, “You shall have the well-rope, but at present, *we are out of pigs!*”²⁴

The governor was concerned with the veterans and their destitute families. From June 30, 1864, to June 30, 1865, Allen made gifts amounting to more than \$11,000 from the governor’s contingent fund to wounded soldiers and destitute women. The amounts were usually \$50 or \$100 to a person. Allen also did his best to get aid to those

Louisiana soldiers who were in Federal prisoner-of-war camps, including Colonel Hunter and many former comrades in arms in the Fourth Louisiana.

Allen's determination that nonmedicinal alcoholic beverages not be manufactured in Confederate Louisiana was influenced to a large extent by his concern for relief. "In Texas," said Mrs. Dorsey, who was in a position to know, "'refugees' were paying five and six dollars per bushel for corn, while the distillers were making immense profits by the consumption of the grain needed for the subsistence of the people." Allen was determined that this should not happen in Louisiana.²⁵

Allen was also ready to champion the cause of his people when he felt they were being abused by the Confederate government. In a letter to President Davis he expressed a desire for "understanding between the Confederate and State Authorities, between civil and military powers," explaining that such concord depended upon proper redress of grievances such as those arising from "the arbitrary execution of the impressment act, and the hardships resulting therefrom. Horses, mules, wagons, cattle, slaves, teamsters, provender, corn, provisions of every kind, [were] forcibly taken, or voluntarily given, to officers claiming to be vested with legal authority." In some cases receipts had been given; in other cases they had been refused; but "in either case, payment is now refused, because these men are not bonded officers, or because of the improper vouchers attesting the fact of impressment—or that no authority exists for it." Allen recommended that Confederate commissioners be appointed to settle these claims. He explained: "It is my sincere desire to act in the greatest harmony with your Excellency in the execution of the laws of Congress. *But at the same time, my people must be protected in all their constitutional and legal rights.*"²⁶

Davis replied:

The appointment of Commissioners to proceed with full powers to audit and settle the accounts of citizens whose claims are ignored because the impressments have been irregular and because they are without proper vouchers as recommended by you and requested as you state by General Smith, is not within the power of the executive. . . . It would require the passage of a law to enable me to meet your wishes. If this remedy is indispensable, it is through the actions of your delegates in Congress that the necessary legislation can be best attained.²⁷

Allen, disappointed but undaunted by the President's response, personally appointed a commissioner to examine the claims against the Confederate government for property impressed or destroyed. He sent Colonel Sandidge to Richmond to seek consideration for those adjudged justified. This exchange may help to explain Allen's later admission that although Jefferson Davis possessed "exalted virtues," he (Allen) was not one of the President's admirers.²⁸

In 1864 several civilians were imprisoned by the military without due process and one was arbitrarily exiled. Thereupon, on July 5, Allen issued a proclamation to the citizens of the state in which he assured them that although war made inconveniences inevitable, their rights were not to be breached:

I therefore earnestly admonish every one whose rights may be violated under pretence of military authority, to appeal promptly to the courts of justice. Let every citizen having just cause of complaint against military officers, report the same at once to the grand-jury of his parish. If arrested and deprived of your liberty, it is your right to have the cause of your arrest judicially inquired into at once, and to be discharged unless found to be legally detained. This writ of *habeas corpus* is always open to every citizen; to invoke it is his hallowed right; and I earnestly request all judges to issue it whenever legally demanded.²⁹

He added that the citizen who had been "illegally and wrongfully exiled" would be returned to home and family. "While I am Governor of the State of Louisiana the bayonet shall not rule her citizens, but they shall be protected at every hazard in all their legal and constitutional rights."

General Kirby Smith was cooperative, and all prisoners who were not subject to military tribunals were released to civil authorities. Allen also triumphed in the above-mentioned case of the exiled citizen. This man, suspected of sympathizing and cooperating with the Federals, had been seized by Kirby Smith's order and deported to Mexico without formality. Allen immediately drove to Kirby Smith's headquarters and protested with unrestrained vehemence. According to Sarah Dorsey's account of the meeting:

Smith listened to him with coolness and indifference; he was prejudiced against the victim, as most everybody else was. "Well, Governor," he remarked, at length after Allen had got through with his fiery remonstrance, "suppose we differ in opinion, and I refuse to restore this man, as you demand, what then?" In an instant, Allen sprang to his feet, though

he was scarcely able to stand on them. Bringing his hand down with violence on the table between them his whole face aglow with anger and indignation, he replied, "What then, General Smith! By God! We will fight you, Sir! You shan't tread the civil rights of the people of Louisiana under your foot."

Smith looked at Allen, startled for an instant from his usual sweet equanimity of manner, then extending his hand kindly to Allen, said with a smile, "*I believe you would, Governor!*"

Turning to the table, he wrote the order for the restoration of the obnoxious individual.³⁰

Allen did not depend upon private enterprise to supply the needs of his people; instead he established state stores which kept a complete stock of clothes, shoes, household articles, kitchen utensils, and groceries. People who were able paid for what they bought; others were furnished with the necessities free of charge. Strangely enough, the state stores made money. In 1864 the quartermaster general in charge of the stores turned almost \$400,000 into the state treasury. In 1865 he turned in over \$1.5 million.

When it became evident that the Confederacy would fall, Governor Allen ordered the store to dispose of its stock of goods for state money, and, according to a Shreveport paper, the store took on the appearance of a bank. Its wares were sold to all those who were fortunate enough to have any state money in their possession. Confederate money was not acceptable.

Allen himself explained that he initiated the state stores to strengthen the currency of the state and he felt this action succeeded in drawing from circulation many of the state notes, thereby increasing the value of the remainder.³¹

Allen did his best to keep the newspapers in Shreveport and elsewhere in unoccupied Louisiana supplied with newsprint. One editor wrote: "We must conclude by tendering to our Governor, as a public journalist, the approbation of the people, and more especially our own unselfish, undying gratitude as an editor, for having abolished '*wall-paper*' in our State."³² Before Allen imported quantities of paper from Mexico, some newspapers had been reduced to printing on wallpaper. To solve the problem permanently the governor planned to establish paper mills.

Allen was aware of the power of the printed word. The *Louisiana Almanac* which was published at his instigation was received favorably in Louisiana and Texas. In June, 1864, he instructed commissioners

"to gather and collect testimony concerning the conduct of the enemy during their brief and inglorious occupancy of a part of West Louisiana." The report of those commissioners was published under the direction of Governor Allen in April, 1865. It was an effective propaganda document.³³

The governor did not neglect public education; the war was not crisis enough to interfere with Louisiana's public schools. Textbooks became a local product. Allen persuaded Halsey, his secretary, to compile a *Louisiana English Grammar* which was published in Shreveport. Allen was also responsible for a *Louisiana Spelling Book*. The 1865 session of the legislature appropriated funds and authorized the governor to purchase schoolbooks to be distributed to school children by the parish police juries. Those whose parents could afford them had to pay; the others received them free.

The condition of currency was always of concern to Allen. The Shreveport *Semi-Weekly News* noted editorially: "The state of Louisiana would be nearly destitute of change, only for our State money, which has been made good and current by the energy of our excellent Governor." State currency soon equaled and then surpassed Confederate issue in value. The same paper said, "We are glad to see the money of our State, now so much in demand. It is at par with the new issue."³⁴ By May of 1865 the Louisiana currency was held at 20 per cent premium over Confederate money.

In January of 1865 Allen presented the legislature with an account of his activities as governor during the previous year. It is an amazing document, especially when one remembers that all he described happened within one year and during time of war.³⁵

The previous September Allen had written Secretary of War Seddon that the "time has come for us to put into the army every able bodied Negro man as a soldier."³⁶ This letter found its way into enemy hands and was published widely in the North. Many of Allen's friends disagreed with him on this point and advised him to deny writing the letter. He refused, reasserting his position in his message to the legislature the following January. Allen said that the Negro should be armed. Since the Northern soldiers had more brawn than brain, it was easier for the Southern soldier to outfight them than outwork them. Negroes in the army would reduce or remove this difficulty. "I speak the sentiments of the army, of every officer and private, of every man and woman in Louisiana, and now sum up the argument

on this question: If necessary, if the worst should come, perish slavery—perish the institution forever—but give us independence; give us freedom now, henceforth and forever, from the accursed Yankee nation. If we are subjugated, the Negroes are lost to their owners. If we triumph, we can well afford to give freedom to every slave who fights the battles of his country.”

Allen cautioned the legislature that

the time may come—is perhaps fast approaching—when we will have to give up the institution of domestic slavery in order to secure our independence as a nation. The civilized world is opposed to the name of slavery—it prefers bondage under some other name. . . . peons . . . serfs . . . cooleys. The position of the slave in Louisiana is far superior to any of these; he is better clothed, better fed, better treated and cared for, and in every respect a much happier being. Still we cannot convince the world that they are wrong and that we are right. The public mind must be prepared for the change. Shall we continue to fight on, in a long protracted war with slavery, or shall we give it up and have peace and independence? Louisiana will rise en masse and say without hesitation, “we will abolish the institution—we will part with slavery without regret—if necessary to gain our independence.”³⁷

There is no indication that his proposal to arm the Negro was enthusiastically received. The legislators did, however, resolve

that in view of the extraordinary emergencies, occasioned by a state of war, and the impoverished and straitened conditions of our people, in which Governor Allen, has been called upon to act, we approve what he has done for the public relief and welfare, prompted as his action has been, by . . . sound judgment and discretion, and executed with extraordinary energy and industry; be it further resolved, that Governor Allen has earned the thanks of the people of the State of Louisiana, which we, as their representatives hereby gratefully tender him.³⁸

This feeling was shared by a great many other people. Allen had done a remarkable job, better than even Sarah Dorsey had expected. But, looking back, she was not surprised: “Though with a sub-stratum of medieval feeling and principles, this incongruous man was essentially a man of progress. He saw and seized instantaneously the peculiarities of a position and its necessities, and prominent points as they were developed. He was generally in advance of anybody else.”³⁹

Allen had established order, had restored confidence, had demonstrated the concern of the state for the welfare of its people. He had also created an image of “The Governor” that three generations

later would mask another face. Anything, no matter how minute which concerned the people, concerned him. As the New Orleans *Daily Crescent* explained:

If an Arkansas, Missouri or Texas soldier wanted a shirt or a pair of shoes, the order issued. If a poor lady's mule had been impressed, an aide-de-camp was sent instantly to headquarters. If news was wanted of some young private in North Carolina or Virginia, secretaries were ordered to write at once. The Governor's office became the great center and focus of excitement. Men and women came from Arkansas and Texas for the aid they could not get at home, and the Missourians claimed Allen as their Governor.⁴⁰

"Why is it," asked another Louisiana newspaper early in 1865, "that Governor Allen is honored by the people?" And it answered:

Simply because he makes their *good* his highest object. He protects the weak, he relieves the needy, he rewards the faithful, he, in short, exercises his every constitutional power with justice, reason, and humanity. . . . He came forth, pale, wan, and war-worn, still reeling under his recent wounds. He assured us that the old ship of the State was still above the billows—he bade us be of good cheer, that all would yet be well—he pledged to the State and to the people his undying fidelity—and bade every man stand to his post. Not one who heard him then doubted but he would give his whole soul to the "great work." Has he not redeemed his pledge?⁴¹

Mrs. Dorsey was at Shreveport as Allen's guest during the last hours of the Confederacy. The three-room house occupied by the governor and his staff had no guest room ordinarily, but one was provided for Mrs. Dorsey. It was nothing comparable to what she might have expected in prewar days, but the privations of war had made her appreciative of any hospitality. Other men, in similar circumstances, might have demanded better quarters. That Allen did not, intrigued her. She marveled at this man who lived "with the extremist simplicity." At the same time, she was impressed with his graciousness. Her temporary quarters had been arranged "with the most tender consideration—the few luxuries of the house were concentrated there. It was kept supplied with flowers and books. . . . Every delicate courtesy and thoughtful attention, that Southern men could pay to a woman," was rendered to her without fanfare. Frugality was everywhere apparent. The only luxuries admitted to the table were "the native truffle, which an old Frenchman near

Natchitoches sent the Governor, and 'a cup of coffee' once a day." ⁴²

Allen's real luxury, Sarah Dorsey found, was in helping his people. This would continue to his last days in Louisiana. The people looked to him, and he dedicated himself to the task of meeting their needs. Each day new plans were conceived and implemented. "In the peculiarity of the position in which he was placed," Mrs. Dorsey noted, "he had nearly arbitrary power." But she did not feel that he abused it: "The people idolized him! If the blessings of the poor could give soft slumbers, his head ought to have rested very quietly on the pillow of his hard couch—a plain deal bed, which did not even boast a coverlet." ⁴³

During her stay with Allen Mrs. Dorsey was also profoundly impressed by the mail he received and sent, and which she was allowed to read. Hundreds of letters arrived from all over Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas; the refugees considered themselves still under the care of Louisiana and its governor. One such letter read:

Shreveport, Louisiana
May 15, 1864

Governor Allen:

Many thanks for the one pair of shoes and ten yards of towels, which I got at your store this morning. The Colonel would not let me have any shoes for myself and the two little ones, nor a suit of clothes for my husband, because it was not specified in the order. Will your Excellency, Governor Allen, extend your generosity a little further, and give me an order for the following articles: Needles, thread, pins, one of the large bowls, two or three small ones, some plates, cups and saucers, a pitcher, shoes for myself and the two little ones, one suit of clothes for my husband, knives and spoons, one dish, chamber, stockings, and anything else you are willing for me to get. I send you a gold pencil and twenty-five cents, all I have to recompense you with now. God will reward you, and you will have my best wishes for your success and happiness. If you will let me have the order, please send it with this note, by the boy Henry.

Respectfully,
R.A.R.

P.S.—Governor, I hope I am not asking too much of you; If I am, please forgive. And will you please let me have a comb, some buttons, and tobacco, also a few more yards of towels.

R.A.R.

The order was filled; the gold pencil and twenty-five cents were returned.

Allen read many letters "with tears in his eyes, and unaffected concern on his countenance" because of the requests for clothing or for food. "My God!" he asked. "How shall I meet the absolute necessities of this destitute, starving people?" ⁴⁴

If Allen was beloved by the women of Louisiana before he became governor, there was even more reason for it now. On one occasion Mrs. Dorsey admonished him for over-generosity: "I think you allow these people to impose on you, though you weary yourself to death over them every day. Why don't you let your aides and secretaries see them? You are thronged with these unreasonable people all day long."

"No; I can't shun such responsibilities. *These are my duties.*"

"That means you have adopted all these unfortunates as a sort of family. You are the veritable Pater Respublica! Every body in attendance on you complains about your undue devotion to this third order of the realm."

Mrs. Dorsey also heard complaints from others because the governor was not sufficiently concerned about people of quality. It seemed that "old women, and widows, and orphans, and soldiers' wives came first, always; ladies and gentlemen and distinguished people afterwards." ⁴⁵

Henry Allen was pleased to have Mrs. Dorsey's company. They even danced occasionally, but he was no longer the man with the winged feet. His dancing was not vehement, nor did he insist on making "all the steps." When Sarah congratulated him "upon the increased interest, grace, and dignity, he had acquired by being lame in both legs . . . assuring him it was so much more becoming and attractive than the ancient '*ballet* style,'" he declared wryly that he "infinitely preferred" the mode of Lake St. Joseph days.

One day Allen started to sing the Confederate song "Southrons," and said he wished he had all the words and knew the name of the author. Mrs. Dorsey could supply both since an aunt had written the verses for her.

They read poetry. Sarah was appreciative: "He read aloud admirably. There are portions of Shakespeare's plays and some of Moore's Songs . . . that are now inseparably associated with his memory in my mind." The governor's fondness for poetry, and for introducing it into his speech and into his speeches, figured in another

episode during Mrs. Dorsey's visit. Allen was dictating a state paper to Halsey and included some lines of poetry which perplexed the secretary. "Good heavens!" Halsey exclaimed reproachfully, "Governor, I believe if you were saying the Multiplication Table you would introduce a distich between twice one and twice two." Allen yielded to Halsey's protest with good humor and omitted the verses.⁴⁶

One of the official letters of the governor which Sarah was allowed to read was addressed to Napoleon III of France. Allen apparently had written it prior to his report to the legislature in January, 1865. Toward the end of 1864 General C. J. Polignac had been honored for his prowess and service in the Confederate Army by a public banquet at Shreveport. Allen attended and presented the general with a sword. While in Shreveport, Polignac requested that Kirby Smith give him permission to seek aid in France for the Confederacy. Kirby Smith consented and Polignac and his chief of staff prepared to leave. Hearing of the plan, Allen asked one of his aides to go along and bear a letter to Napoleon III. The general and the two aides left for Matamoras in January and sailed thence, via Cuba, to France. The project was a failure. The Emperor received General Polignac and also granted a brief interview to Colonel Ernest Miltenberger, who presented Allen's letter. Napoleon III accepted the letter, but laid it unopened on the table. It was still there when the audience came to an end a few minutes later.⁴⁷

Allen's points were familiar ones. The Confederacy needed French and English intervention. The Emperor might need Confederate assistance in protecting the French-supported Maximilian government in Mexico. In reply, Napoleon said that he had twice unsuccessfully asked England to join with him on such a venture. Now it was too late.

The anxiety Allen expressed in his letter was a revelation to Mrs. Dorsey. This man who seemed so cheerful, so considerate and devoted

had been gloomy and filled with apprehension as to the result of our struggle, for months . . . yet went on about his duties as seemingly calm and self-controlled, with as much energy and interest, as if . . . ignorant that a few days would end it all; that the sword of Damocles would soon break, by its increasing weight, the slender thread by which it was suspended, and fall with mortal stroke upon his defenseless head,

and—what was harder still to bear, and yet to live—with a destructive power on the hearts and hopes of “his people.”⁴⁸

“I have the honor to be,” said the governor to the people of Louisiana, “your most obedient servant.” And the walls came tumbling down.

Trans-Mississippi

MANY OF THE PROBLEMS Allen faced as chief executive were not peculiar to unoccupied Louisiana, nor even to civilian authority. Allen and his activities should be viewed, at least briefly, as parts of a larger unit, the Trans-Mississippi Confederacy.

Shortly after the capture of New Orleans in the spring of 1862, Confederate authorities created the Trans-Mississippi Department for the administration of military affairs west of the Mississippi River. The department consisted of three districts: (1) Texas, which included Texas and the territory of Arizona; (2) Arkansas, which included Arkansas, Missouri, and the Indian Territory; and (3) West Louisiana.

In 1862 General Richard Taylor, who had already distinguished himself in Virginia, assumed command of the District of West Louisiana. The situation he faced was discouraging. Attempts to increase his minimal force by enforcing the conscription acts were not successful. His appeal to Richmond resulted in limited aid of men and munitions. With men poorly equipped, supplied, and trained, he was to hold the line in Louisiana and, if possible, expel the enemy from the Southern coast. General Edmund Kirby Smith, who assumed command of the Trans-Mississippi Department in March, 1863, found the situation even worse in the other two districts. Kirby Smith transferred his headquarters from Little Rock, Arkansas, to Alexandria, Louisiana.¹

On April 14, while on a tour of inspection in the northern part of the department, Kirby Smith received word that General N. P. Banks had crossed the Mississippi with a force of eighteen thousand

men and was moving against Taylor. Banks had replaced Butler in command of the Union's Army of the Gulf the previous December. Banks occupied Opelousas on April 20 and then moved toward Alexandria. Kirby Smith had the records of the Trans-Mississippi Department removed to Shreveport and ordered Taylor to retreat toward Natchitoches.

Banks was outside Alexandria by May 7, but instead of pursuing Taylor farther, he turned at this point and recrossed the Mississippi to invest the Confederate stronghold at Port Hudson. With the surrender of Port Hudson on July 9, the Trans-Mississippi Department was cut off from the rest of the Confederacy. Kirby Smith could not count on aid from the East and had to do his best to make his department self-sufficient and effective. Establishing his headquarters permanently at Shreveport on the Red River, he determined to make that city, already the geographic center of his department, into a center of communications. The local citizens, however, would hardly have been pleased to know that Kirby Smith, in a letter to his wife, characterized Shreveport as a "miserable place with a miserable population." ²

As the Trans-Mississippi became increasingly isolated, Kirby Smith assumed more authority and more responsibility, even personally soliciting foreign assistance. He advised John Slidell, Confederate ambassador to France, to urge that country to intervene in his behalf: "This succor must come speedily, or it will be too late. Without assistance from abroad or an extraordinary interposition of Providence, less than twelve months will see this fair country irretrievably lost." The French-supported government in Mexico then would find a hostile United States along its borders. The French could begin by establishing control of the Rio Grande, which would guarantee a continued supply line to the Trans-Mississippi Confederates and the "whole cotton trade west of the Mississippi will thus be secured to the French Market. . . ." ³

Kirby Smith's point was well taken. The United States had protested vigorously when French troops intervened in Mexico and established the Archduke Maximilian of Austria as emperor. French troops continued to prop up the new government and the United States was not in a position to intervene. There had been some border incidents between Confederates and Mexicans but, in general, the

Confederate States were more favorably disposed toward their new southern neighbor than was the United States government.

As military commander, Kirby Smith had many of the same problems and responsibilities that governors such as Allen had in the civil realm. In addition to directing the exchange of cotton for supplies, he established an iron foundry and organized a clothing bureau to import or manufacture uniforms. The Trans-Mississippi Department operated its own tannery and a woolen factory.⁴

Aware that the circumstances demanded that he assume extraordinary powers, and anticipating civilian protests over some of his activities, Kirby Smith proposed that governors, justices, and other leading men of the Trans-Mississippi states meet with him at Marshall, Texas, on August 15, 1864. Kirby Smith sought the advice of these men on the problems confronting him. What could be done to maintain the morale of the people, to encourage them to contribute to their own defense? How could government credit be safeguarded? How could the cotton of the region be secured without opposition from the planters? How could this cotton be disposed of? How much civil authority should Kirby Smith exercise as department commander? The group considered these and other questions. Committees were formed and these submitted reports to the general. More energy, Allen and the others felt, should be devoted to manufacturing. A remedy should be found for the inadequate food supply and the scarcity of other necessities. Morale was good in spite of some apparent dissatisfaction. Kirby Smith should leave civil authority alone. Governor Thomas C. Reynolds of Missouri proposed that to "harmonize and infuse vigor into the patriotic efforts of the people, obtain and diffuse correct information, and discourage disloyalty," the governors should become an unofficial committee of public safety. Kirby Smith thanked the members of the conference for their loyalty and advice and they, in turn, adopted a resolution of confidence in him.⁵

Governor Moore of Louisiana had been authorized by the legislature in 1863 to raise a state guard. This law, under which Moore appointed Henry W. Allen major general, had met popular as well as legal resistance and never came to fruition. The legislature, determined to have a force committed only to the defense of Louisiana, tried again in its first session under Allen. A law was enacted which

authorized the governor to raise a state guard composed of two battalions of five hundred men each, drawn from all men sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, or over forty-five. These two battalions would perform military service attached to Kirby Smith's command. However, the enactment of a Confederate law the following month, extending the obligation of service to all men between the ages of seventeen and fifty, placed the Louisiana militia in jeopardy. Allen protested to President Davis and requested that an exception be made in the case of Louisiana. Davis replied that this was beyond his authority.⁶

Governor Allen had an opportunity to function again in a military capacity as head of the state militia. Familiar names appeared on the roster of his personal staff. Henry M. Favrot of West Baton Rouge, who had served with him in the Fourth Louisiana, commanded the state guard with the rank of lieutenant colonel. Dr. Amzi Martin became surgeon general. John Sandidge was appointed chief of ordnance.

Just as Kirby Smith's characterization of Shreveport would hardly have endeared him to the people of that community, his statement concerning personnel in January, 1864, could hardly have endeared him to the crippled Henry W. Allen. "The Government must not send me any more cast-off material."⁷

The Trans-Mississippi forces, anticipating a Federal invasion in 1864, were not disappointed, for one had been planned. Frederick Steele, the Federal commander in Arkansas, was to march from Little Rock with ten thousand troops and occupy Shreveport; Banks proposed to move upriver with eighteen thousand troops; Major A. J. Smith, with a force of ten thousand, was to come from Vicksburg to aid Banks. Admiral David Porter prepared to support the armies with a squadron of gunboats.

Kirby Smith, preparing to defend the Red River Valley, concentrated his forces in Louisiana. General Tom Green and his cavalry arrived from Texas. General Sterling Price, commander in Arkansas, was called upon to send all his infantry and artillery south, keeping his cavalry to harass Steele and, if possible, disrupt his lines of communication without risking an open engagement. General Taylor and his forces were already at hand. Taylor's instructions from Kirby Smith were to harass any invading force, but to avoid a pitched battle. In anticipation of invasion, all animals and vehicles

which might be commandeered by invaders were removed (at Kirby Smith's suggestion and Taylor's order) from the Atchafalaya country. The owners' protests were unavailing. Taylor had yielded to similar protest the year before, to the sorrow of the Confederacy. Kirby Smith asked the governors in the district to aid with their local militia.

Apparently, General Taylor had already made such a request of Governor Allen. On March 13 the Federal troops were definitely in motion. By March 15 Alexandria had been evacuated by the Confederate forces and occupied by the Federals. On March 16 Governor Allen instructed his enrolling officers to have their companies ready to march at a moment's notice. "The movements expected to be made by the enemy in this quarter," he said, "will require the service in the field of every son of Louisiana. In this condition of public affairs the good citizen will lay aside every selfish and unworthy consideration and devote his whole care and attention to the public defense. At the call of the Executive the merchant must be ready to leave his counting room, the farmer his plow, the mechanic his tools, and men of other classes of labor their pursuits." ⁸

On March 26 Banks arrived at Alexandria. By March 28 all units of the Louisiana militia had been ordered to report. Shortly thereafter, all furloughs were revoked and every available man in Louisiana was ordered into the army. Those refusing to be enrolled were arrested. Furthermore, the governor ordered: "If any man resists you with deadly weapons, you will cause him to be shot dead on the spot." Tension mounted. The battle for Louisiana was not far off.

Allen was proud to report to the legislature the next year that the state guard had performed admirably at the battles of Mansfield and Pleasant Hill. The battle of Mansfield took place on April 8. General Taylor decided, without instructions from Kirby Smith, to attack. The battle was hard fought, and toward the end of the day, the Federal troops retreated to a point a few miles south of Mansfield. Pursuing the enemy, Taylor engaged them again the next day in some stiff fighting near Pleasant Hill. The battle ended with Taylor withdrawing his troops and the Federals falling back to Grand Ecore, south of Natchitoches.

Kirby Smith received word of the battle of Mansfield at 4 A.M. the next day. He and Governor Allen left immediately for the front. They arrived toward the end of the battle of Pleasant Hill. Kirby

Smith was dubious, but the Confederates called it a victory. Nims' battery, which had lost four guns to the Confederates on the previous day, was the same battery that Allen had faced at Baton Rouge.⁹

Allen addressed the soldiers before returning to Shreveport. He told them that the state was grateful for their victories over an "insolent foe" who had marked "his pathway with pillage, desecration, and wanton destruction." Villainy had received its reward: "You have stript the Federals of their well-appointed artillery and their rich-laden trains. You have met the Yankee chief in the day of his pride, and torn from him his laurels, and from his followers their stolen wealth." Louisiana would not forget its defenders: "Brave, gallant soldiers! You fight neither for pay or for fame, but for independence and your sacred rights."¹⁰

Kirby Smith and Taylor disagreed about the next move. Taylor wanted to pursue Banks; Kirby Smith thought it wiser to stop Steele, who was less than a hundred miles from Shreveport. Kirby Smith was in command. Taylor left his cavalry watching Banks and proceeded to Shreveport with three infantry divisions. However, upon learning that Kirby Smith, who disapproved of his earlier actions, intended to leave him at headquarters, Taylor indignantly returned to the pursuit of Banks.

Kirby Smith was ready for battle; Steele, harassed by Price and apprised of Banks's failure, was not. He began to withdraw, but Kirby Smith's troops were in no position to follow and returned to Shreveport.

Taylor, having followed Banks down the Red River to Alexandria, hoped to engage him there. Because of low water, Banks was having difficulty in getting his vessels downstream. Taylor was unable to prevent Federal engineers from damming the river, and the Federal vessels floated over the falls to the south of Alexandria. Banks evacuated Alexandria on May 12. Two days later a fire of unknown origin destroyed two-thirds of the town.

The battles of Mansfield and Pleasant Hill were the last in which the Louisiana militia participated. Allen praised the men of the militia in a general order which also noted that the new conscript law made it impossible for the state to continue to maintain a militia. "You are," Allen said, "therefore permanently discharged from the command of the governor. He parts from you with much regret,

and tenders to each and all of you his best wishes for your health, happiness, and prosperity.”¹¹ Allen reported to the legislature on the state guard the following year, saying that the two battalions had been consolidated to form the Eighth Regiment of Louisiana Cavalry.

The long-simmering feud between Kirby Smith and Taylor was fanned into open flame during the Red River campaign, a feud which, after the principals had left the scene, continued to smolder through Southern history.¹² Kirby Smith relieved Taylor of his command for insubordination, ordering him to await the pleasure of the President at Natchitoches. Davis was less displeased with Taylor than was Kirby Smith. In July, 1864, he ordered Taylor and his infantry to cross the Mississippi. Such other infantry as could be spared by Kirby Smith were to follow as soon as possible.

Kirby Smith was unhappy about the prospective loss of troops: “I fear the practicability of the movement,” he advised Taylor, “yet no effort must be spared in securing its execution.” One problem was getting troops across the Mississippi; another was placating the people in the Trans-Mississippi Department, who would be displeased to lose defenders. The first problem proved insoluble, and thus eliminated the second. Toward the end of August, Taylor crossed the river alone at night in a canoe.

Apparently Taylor recognized that the plan to transfer the troops across the Mississippi was unsound. Since the Federal fleet controlled the river, what chance was there of crossing a large number of troops with the necessary equipment and supplies? Moreover, Federal authorities were soon aware of the plan. The men might have been sent across in small groups at various points on the river, but disorganization, dispersion, capture, and desertion would have completely destroyed the effectiveness of the force. General John A. Wharton, in command of the cavalry, astutely commented that “a bird, if dressed in Confederate gray, would find it difficult to fly across the river.”¹³

Kirby Smith notified Beauregard that he found it impossible to render assistance either by crossing the Mississippi or by moving into northern Arkansas and Missouri. General Beauregard was not convinced of the impossibility, nor was Jefferson Davis, who wrote Kirby Smith: “Under these circumstances, I think it advisable that you should be charged with military operations on both banks of

the Mississippi; and that you should endeavor, as promptly as possible, to cross that river with as large a force as may be prudently withdrawn from your present department.”¹⁴

Kirby Smith, receiving this dispatch almost a month later, replied that crossing was out of the question during the winter. Perhaps early in the summer it might be possible. Furthermore, if he crossed the river, the impossibility of controlling operations on both sides of an enemy-held river would make it necessary to appoint a successor in the Trans-Mississippi Department. The Trans-Mississippi population supported Kirby Smith. The Louisiana senate deplored any attempt at crossing. Allen supported General Kirby Smith's policies and urged the other Trans-Mississippi governors to do the same.¹⁵

Early in 1865 the legislature authorized Allen to appoint a superintendent of army records who would have authority to record the names of all who had served in either state or Confederate service. Allen conferred the appointment upon Henry M. Favrot, who, busily at work on the projected roll call of the victors, was interrupted by defeat.

Defeat and Surrender

WHEN NEWS OF Lee's surrender reached the Trans-Mississippi in April of 1865, the officers and men of the department were better trained and better supplied than at any other time since the war began. On April 21 Kirby Smith told his troops:

You possess the means of long resisting invasion, you have hopes of succor from abroad—protract the struggle, and you will surely receive the aid of nations who already deeply sympathize with you. . . . The great resources of the Department, its vast extent, the numbers, the discipline, and the efficiency of the Army, will secure to our country terms that a proud people can, with honor, accept, and may, under the Providence of God, be the means of checking the triumph of our enemy and of securing the final success of our cause.¹

On April 27 Governor Pendleton Murrah of Texas pleaded with the citizens of his state to continue the struggle. "It may be the privilege of Texas, the youngest of the Confederate sisters, to redeem the cause of the Confederacy."²

Governor Allen also favored continued resistance, and reiterated his incendiary condemnations of the enemy again and again. There was no doubt, he said in a proclamation issued on April 29 to the soldiers of Louisiana, that "the situation was desperate, but the cause was not lost. He asked the soldiers to "fight our wicked invaders now and for all time to come, in armies, in regiments, in companies, in squads, or singly, until our independence is won and conceded." There were still troops east of the Mississippi who would carry on the struggle. In the Trans-Mississippi Department the outlook was good. Foreign support might yet arrive. Even if it did not, there was "every

reason to continue . . . and to fight with the utmost of our strength, fortitude, and energy." In fact, said Allen,

this revolution cannot fail. Our government might be scattered to the four winds of heaven—our President, cabinet and congress, fugitives or captives—our armies defeated, disintegrated and dispersed, our bonds and treasury notes depreciated to utter worthlessness; our general credit destroyed, and our existence as a nation, or even as a belligerent power, wholly denied and ignored—yet must the revolution survive, and the cause of independence succeed. . . . Let each man resolve to fight the tyrant as long as possible on our own soil, and when we can fight them no longer, to join any nation, any race, clan, tribe or junta, that is engaged or can be engaged in making war upon our savage, relentless and sanguinary enemies.³

That same day Allen presided at a mass meeting in Shreveport. At eleven o'clock thousands of citizens and soldiers met at the courthouse square. The governor once again urged that the struggle be continued. Resistance, he said, was a sacred duty.

The first speaker introduced by Governor Allen, Brigadier General Harry T. Hays, was hopeful about the military situation. The Trans-Mississippi boasted "a larger army than General Lee ever commanded." It was, he assured his audience (in an inappropriate allusion) "as large as the French army at Waterloo." The Federal forces would have to fight far from their base of supplies. And, he continued, "we, too, have the Negro to aid us in the fight." Hays was convinced that the Negro "would make a reasonably good soldier. Not equal to the white man in the South, but fully equal to the great bulk of the troops making up the armies of the United States." Other speechmakers were equally sure of success.⁴

As the Trans-Mississippi Department girded itself to continue the war, General John Pope, Federal commander of the District of Missouri, offered Kirby Smith the same terms of surrender given Lee. The offer was brought to Shreveport on May 8 by Lieutenant Colonel John E. Sprague and Major John Bundy. The next day Kirby Smith informed Sprague that he must reject the terms of surrender.

Sometime between May 1 and May 9 Henry Allen had a change of heart. He realized that his "sacred cause" was lost and, perhaps, was struck by the full import of the letter which the Union general had addressed to Kirby Smith. Pope insisted that the "duty of an officer is performed and his honor maintained when he has prolonged resist-

ance until all hope of success has been lost." He pointed out that further resistance could only result in "all the horrors of violent subjugation" being inflicted on the people. Perhaps Allen had heard Colonel Sprague explain that the assassination of President Lincoln had shocked and angered the North and increased its determination to suppress the rebels. Sprague warned that further resistance would only intensify this attitude.⁵

Sarah Dorsey was still at Allen's side and could supply a first-hand account of these events. But, she asked in reflection, "how shall I write now coldly of those last days of agony, and a prostration of spirit, which is scarcely to be conceived by any but a participant and sufferer in those dreadful hours—that terrible sorrow!"

Mrs. Dorsey does not tell us exactly when the revelation came, but Allen realized with humiliation and bitterness the fate that lay in store for the South and for himself. He personally expected to go into exile. Most of his friends were convinced he would be arrested and imprisoned if he stayed in the country and urged him to leave. Mrs. Dorsey was opposed to this course of action, as was Colonel Sandidge. Mrs. Dorsey counseled that it was unworthy of him to flee, and continually urged his remaining in the state. Whatever his decision, it would have to be deferred until Allen had done all he could to make the best settlement possible for his people.⁶

Allen, apparently after conferring with Sandidge, stopped the Federal officers as they were about to leave Shreveport with Kirby Smith's rejection of the peace offer. He invited them to his house and conducted a long interview. He had decided that reasonable peace terms could not be rejected when the only alternative was useless destruction. He and Kirby Smith had reversed their roles. Allen was usually disposed to belligerence; Smith to caution. Allen, however, had become "The Governor," and concern for his people made him more prudent and circumspect.

He asked Colonel Sprague to remain a brief while longer in Shreveport, then (although it was ten o'clock at night) he drove in his carriage to military headquarters to discuss the matter with Kirby Smith. Allen offered to accompany the Federal officers back to the Union lines, to go to Washington, to see Grant, to do anything within his power to seek reasonable terms for the department. He finally prevailed upon Kirby Smith to ask the Federal officers to remain in

Shreveport until after the governors of the Trans-Mississippi states, whom Kirby Smith had already asked to meet in conference, could assemble and discuss the matter.⁷

At Kirby Smith's request, the governors, with the exception of Pendleton Murrah who was ill, began to move toward Marshall, Texas. Some of them apparently were there by May 10. By May 13 Allen, Harris Flanagin of Arkansas, Reynolds of Missouri, and Guy M. Bryan, who represented Murrah of Texas, had drafted what they considered to be acceptable terms of peace and Allen had been authorized to negotiate with the Federal authorities on behalf of the Trans-Mississippi states. Allen was to await a guarantee of safe conduct from Grant and then go to Washington or any other designated point to surrender the department. In their letters of authorization to Allen, dated May 13, 1865, the governors told him that they had faith in his patriotism, ability, and judgment.

In a letter from Marshall, Allen reported that he was overwhelmed by the kindness shown him there and by the many demonstrations of affection. While attending the conference he addressed the soldiers "by invitation of the military authorities," and asked them to stand by their colors a little longer. The men he talked to did stand by, but throughout the department the soldiers were rapidly losing their morale. They had become convinced that the war was over, and had no desire to be formally surrendered. They simply began to go home.

On May 15 Kirby Smith informed Colonel Sprague of the decision of the conference and advised him to consult with the Louisiana governor. If Sprague guaranteed his safety, Allen would accompany him back to St. Louis. This, however, the colonel was unwilling or unable to do. General Kirby Smith, on the other hand, refused to surrender the department "in his military capacity." The Federal officers left Shreveport on May 17. Ten days later, in St. Louis, they reported that Kirby Smith had refused to surrender.⁸

On May 17, when the Federal peace commissioners had gone, Allen addressed all the citizens and soldiers in Shreveport concerning the results of the governors' conference. He asked them to maintain discipline and to avoid violence. If they must go down in defeat, it should be as free men and patriots, and with order.⁹

Later that day, he wrote Mrs. Dorsey, now back in Texas, that he would await the invitation of the Federal authorities and proceed to General Grant's headquarters in a week or ten days. "In the mean-

time there will be a cessation of all hostilities. I would advise all who intend to live under Federal rule to return to their homes with their property of all kinds, for the *war is over*." As for himself, he would "stay at the helm of the state just as long as I am needed by my people; and then I shall seek a home as an exile in a strange land."¹⁰

Three days later, after appointing General Simon Buckner to departmental chief of staff, Kirby Smith left for Houston. He apparently hoped to rally his forces there to continue the struggle. Desertion, however, was prevalent everywhere, and his officers advised him that in a few days the Confederate Army would no longer exist. In Louisiana, General Hays reported large-scale desertion. At Buckner's request, Allen drove toward Mansfield to address the troops and, in Buckner's words, to "endeavor, by his presence, to check their desertions and restrain their depredations." But the division had already dispersed.¹¹ Demoralization was also apparent in the troops of Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri.

Allen met some of the Louisiana troops marching homeward, and pleaded with them not to desert. The men crowded around him, sobbing. But there was no turning back. The Trans-Mississippi Department was collapsing. Buckner's officers advised him to leave immediately for New Orleans and negotiate terms of surrender. Sterling Price accompanied him.

When Allen returned that evening, his task was at an end. His role in the peace negotiations had been bypassed; no bargaining position was left. The time for personal decision was at hand: Should he remain or go into exile? His health was weak and his affections were strong; both were reasons for remaining in Louisiana. On the other hand, many of his friends urged his departure since reports were circulating that Confederate leaders in the area east of the Mississippi were being arrested—and especially since Allen had not been restrained in his war-time addresses.

The troops from Missouri established a round-the-clock guard of the governor. This precaution appeared unnecessary, but they were determined to protect their protector. Devotion on the part of the troops from Missouri had already caused Allen some embarrassment. Missouri officers, determined to cross into Mexico with their troops, had requested Allen to lead them. According to Mrs. Dorsey,

he told them his civil duties would preclude his departure at so early a date as they wished to go, but that he would probably be compelled to

join them afterwards. The soldiers made him the wildest propositions. They proposed to seize on the Department, and make him dictator—anything he pleased. While smiling at their enthusiastic devotion, he rebuked it. These wild petitions reaching the ears of his most intimate friends, they were exceedingly amused in the midst of their anxieties, and teased the Governor by calling him “the Emperor” and appointing themselves to posts of honor in the imaginary imperial court, giving themselves fanciful titles, and sometimes forcing a smile to his weary lips by their playful railleries.¹²

Buckner and Price arrived in New Orleans on May 25. There they were joined by Richard Taylor, who had already surrendered his command. The next day the three of them met with Union officers and were offered approximately the same terms that Lee had accepted. They could expect no better.

A few days later Kirby Smith, apprised of the action and aware of the wide-scale desertion in his command, delivered his final message to the soldiers of the Trans-Mississippi Department.

Soldiers! I am left a commander without an army—a General without troops. You have made your choice. It was unwise and unpatriotic, but it is final. I pray you may not live to regret it. The enemy will now possess your country, and dictate his own laws. You have voluntarily destroyed your organizations, and thrown away all means of resistance. Your present duty is plain. Return to your families. Resume the occupations of peace. Yield obedience to the laws. Labor to restore order. Strive both by counsel and example to give security to life and property. And may God, in His mercy, direct you aright, and heal the wounds of our distracted country.

Then, writing to Colonel John Sprague, Kirby Smith said that conditions had changed since he rejected the surrender demand: “The department is now open to occupation by your Government. The citizen and soldier alike, weary of war, are ready to accept the authority and yield obedience to the laws of the United States.” The treaty of peace, signed at New Orleans, was sent by steamer to Galveston. There, on June 2, 1865, General Kirby Smith added his signature.¹³

Governor Allen remained in Shreveport until he was informed that the treaty had been signed, but he had decided upon exile. Paralysis descended upon the machinery he had so industriously set in motion. Factory, mill, and mine ceased to function. His trains of cotton and supplies were stopped in transit. Although the affairs of Confederate

Louisiana were no longer within his control, he continued to make arrangements to settle all just claims against the state.¹⁴

Many of those arrangements were never implemented. John Sandidge remained at the executive office to deliver all papers and state documents to the Federal officials when they arrived. Allen told Colonel Sandidge, "I have but one request to make of him or them. It is this, that all the debts contracted by me for the State of Louisiana shall be honestly paid. The Confederate States has transferred to the State a large quantity of cotton. I simply ask that enough be set apart to pay the creditors of the State, who have furnished the actual necessities of life in good faith."¹⁵

Allen closed the books of the state, wrote a letter to Mrs. Dorsey which he sent on ahead with Halsey, who was Texas-bound, and prepared to leave. He issued his farewell message on June 2. He advised his listeners to remain orderly and to adjust to the situation. Though he must go into exile, he was pleased with his record as governor and he thanked those who had helped him through their kindness and cooperation.

Fellow citizens, in this the darkest hour of my life, . . . I have nothing to regret; I look back with mournful pleasure at my public career now about to close. As a citizen, as a soldier, as a statesman, I have done my duty. The soldier's family, the widow and the orphan, the sick and the wounded, the poor and needy, have all had my especial care, while the wants of the soldier and the citizen have not been forgotten. I have protected the people from the encroachments of military power, and have never permitted a bale of cotton in the State to be seized or impressed. It is partially in remembrance of these acts, that you have always given me your entire confidence. But few in authority have ever had so many evidences of affection and regard as you have so often shown me.

Allen's closing words were directed to his "fair country women: "Ladies of Louisiana, I bow to you with tears of grateful affection. . . . God bless you! I can never forget you. . . . Perhaps, in better days when the storm of passion and prejudice shall have passed away, we may meet again . . . if this should be denied me, I humbly trust we may all meet in Heaven, at last, to part no more."¹⁶

When General Buckner returned to Shreveport, Allen had already begun his exile. Buckner brought assurances that the governor would go unmolested, but was not able to communicate with him.¹⁷

Journey into Exile

ON JUNE 7, 1865, the first rays of the sun forecast a good morning. Sarah Dorsey and Henry Allen stood together on the veranda of the Dorsey home at Crockett, Texas, waiting for the other guests to stir. Mrs. Dorsey had risen early to superintend the packing of the carriage in preparation for the trip that Allen was about to take. He tried to be gay. This incongruous mood shocked Mrs. Dorsey and disrupted the composure she had assumed for his benefit.

"Good-morning, my dear friend," Henry Allen had said cheerfully, "What a delightful day!"

Mrs. Dorsey replied reproachfully, "How could any day be delightful?"

Her reproach upset Allen. In an instant, tears streamed from his eyes and he covered them with his hands. Then Mrs. Dorsey, regaining her poise, extended her hand toward him and said, "You will all come back—all of you." He took her hand silently, doubtfully shaking his head.

When the time for departure arrived, Allen rode off on horseback. This was part of his façade of strength; the carriage was necessary if he was to complete the trip. His friend and aide Colonel Henry Denis, who was to accompany him all the way to Mexico, rode on one side. On the other rode another friend—possibly Halsey, who accompanied them for the first few miles. Two of Allen's servants followed with the carriage. They left him somewhere between Crockett and Mexico City to return home as free men. Allen and his companions were soon out of sight. "And so," Mrs. Dorsey wrote later, "when I think of

him, I see him still riding off in the gray morning-light, with all the sorrowful undauntedness of Albert Dürer's knight."

Allen wrote faithfully. Sometimes his letters were mere notes written on the move; sometimes, when stopped for the night, he wrote longer and fuller letters. He reported that he was shown great kindness all through Texas. One morning he found a note pinned to his hat which read "Don't leave us." It was signed "Missourian." On another occasion, at nightfall, the group approached a house and requested permission to spend the night. "If it is Governor Allen of Louisiana," was the reply, "he is welcome to my house and anything I have got in it!"¹

Allen was quiet and depressed at first, but as the days went by he became more and more cheerful and determined to make the best of his situation. At Nacogdoches he had met Dr. Marsteller, with whom he had dueled long ago, during the time he lived in Mississippi, and made up with him. In describing the meeting to Mrs. Dorsey, Allen reported that he and Marsteller had parted on friendly terms and with "mutual respect." His visit with Mrs. Dorsey had been a high point, but he continued to meet both old and new friends. In a letter to Dr. Drury Lacy in Shreveport, he said: "All seem to vie with each other in doing me honor. I feel truly grateful of these evidences of popular regard."² He and his party arrived in San Antonio on the evening of June 14, 1865. Soldiers and leaders of the Confederacy were everywhere. Former Governor Moore of Louisiana, Governor Murrah of Texas, and Governor Reynolds of Missouri were there, as were Generals John B. Clark of Missouri, Danville Leadbetter of Alabama, M. Cadmus Wilcox of Missouri, Joseph O. Shelby of Missouri, Thomas C. Hindman of Arkansas, William Preston of Kentucky, and William P. Hardeman of Texas. Others continued to arrive.

The day after his arrival in San Antonio, Allen wrote a letter to Colonel Sandidge, whom he had left in charge at Shreveport. General Shelby was due to arrive that day; Allen and many other refugees expected to leave with him. If Sandidge had established contact with the Federal commander, he was to give him Allen's compliments "and say to him I have to ask of him but '*one favor*'—that he will rule our poor people mildly, and not let them feel the horrors of subjugation. If he will do this, all my feelings of hatred

and antipathy will cease, and *I will never again raise my hand against the United States authorities. I ask nothing for myself. I am perfectly willing to remain in exile the rest of my life.*"

On June 17 the group left San Antonio. Colonel Denis described the governor's carriage as being loaded with gifts of all sorts from kind friends: "boxes of wine, fine liquors, preserves, cigars, coffee, etc.—good things of which we had lost all but the remembrance during the war."³

Most of the refugees who had met at San Antonio left with General Shelby. The original plan was to take a route through Brownsville, Texas, and Matamoras, Mexico. However, they were informed that Federal troops were in possession of Brownsville, and their route was changed to one farther inland, toward Eagle Pass on the Rio Grande.

General Kirby Smith and a group of Confederate refugees who had arrived in San Antonio on June 19 traveled day and night to catch up with General Shelby and the main group. The former commander of Confederate troops west of the Mississippi jogged along on the back of a mule. A bandana was tied around his neck and the wind whipped through his shirt sleeves. A revolver hung from his belt; a shotgun was attached to his saddle. He wrote his wife that he "had left everything behind except a clear conscience and a sense of having done my duty." He had a "light purse" and a "heavy heart," but the "darkness and uncertainty of the future could not entirely check the feeling of lightness and joy experienced by me when I felt myself to be plain Kirby Smith relieved from all cares and responsible only for my own acts."⁴

Allen must have felt much the same as he approached the Rio Grande. He was "dressed, for traveling, in a light, loose suit of checked linen,—the coat made like a full hunting shirt." Some of the group, Allen among them, spurred on ahead and reached Eagle Pass before the others. He, Governor Moore, and Henry Denis traveled alone for a while. According to Denis, they arrived at Eagle Pass on June 23, crossed the Rio Grande on barges, and reached Mexican soil at the small Indian village of Piedras Negras. Denis reported: "We had been traveling, since we left Shreveport, alternately on horseback and in the Governor's ambulance, camping out at night after we left San Antonio, and mounting strict guard, to

protect our horses, mules, and *ourselves* from surprise or attack from roving marauders, which abounded at that time on the frontier.”⁵

Monterrey was the first stop of consequence in Mexico. Allen and his group arrived there on July 3 and remained for five days. Some of the original group, including General Magruder, had already reached Monterrey when Allen and his party got there. Kirby Smith’s biographer tells us that “the heat on the cactus plains and fear of attack by both Indians and the ‘Liberal Robbers’ made the trip . . . one of torture.” At Monterrey, Kirby Smith met a great many “Confederate censorians, fault finding and dissatisfied.” But before leaving for Mexico City on June 5, he had some assurance that not all of the exiles were “censorious.” On the evening of his departure he dined with fifty Confederates, including Allen, Moore, and Magruder, and toasted the fallen Confederacy and its leaders.

Upon his arrival, General Shelby asked the French General Jeannigros, who had about five thousand troops at Monterrey, for permission to attach himself and his troops to the French army. The request was refused since General Jeannigros thought it might cause trouble with the United States, but he did allow the Confederate leader to march with his troops to Mexico City.⁶

Allen wrote Sarah Dorsey at least twice from Monterrey. In one letter he told her:

In this place there is everything but butter and buttermilk. These luxuries have never been seen by the oldest inhabitants! This is quite a city; 40,000 inhabitants, with many fine buildings, and much wealth. The French are in power here. They are rapidly conquering the country, and in a few months all will be quiet in Mexico. I dined, or rather breakfasted, yesterday, with Col. Van Negros [General Jeannigros] the commandant; *sixteen courses!* Everything in elegant style! I have been treated with great consideration and kindness everywhere, by everybody. I never expect to be able to return to the United States, although it is my *sincere desire to do so!* It is my intention to leave this place in a few days for the City of Mexico, and there make my permanent residence.⁷

Once again the sugar planter was reporting on his travels.

On July 8 Allen, along with Generals Preston and Wilcox, Colonel Denis, and Governor Moore, once again was pressing south.⁸ The group stopped for one day at Saltillo, where Allen had an experience which he recalled in detail some months later. The next morning after his arrival, he mounted his horse and went for a ride. After surveying

Saltillo itself, he spurred the horse up the mountain that overlooked the town. Suddenly he found himself faced by a French soldier with a "musket and a sword on the end of it about six feet long." He immediately began to explain his presence, but the soldier either did not understand or did not care to listen. He told Allen to approach, whereupon two other men seized the bridle and forced him to dismount. He was informed that it would be necessary to go before the commandant. Allen agreed to this, but was refused the use of his horse.

He protested, explaining that he too had been a soldier and that he had been badly wounded in the legs and could not possibly walk down the mountain. The soldiers listened in silence and nodded. Further pleading seemed in vain. The journey down the mountain began. Allen paused occasionally to look wistfully at the horse which one soldier led in front of him. Two other soldiers with bayoneted muskets walked behind. Walking was extremely painful for Allen and he finally lost his temper: "I will go no further," he protested. "I will not submit to such treatment." The response was a simple command to march. Allen was outraged: "You damned frog-eating, red breeches devil, I'll make you smoke for this—you shall be punished, sirrah, for you conduct. I'll have satisfaction from your commander, Sir." The response was: "Oui, Monsieur, marchez."

About halfway down the mountain, Allen was allowed to stop and sit on a rock and rest. He called the soldiers to him, took all his change out of his pocket, and offered it to them with the remark that he was the governor of Louisiana and would appreciate the use of his horse. Unfortunately, they had not heard of the governor of Louisiana, and the offer of money was taken to be not only a personal affront but an insult to the French army. They spurned the offered money, making use of the "most terrible Gallic oaths." The leader rushed upon Allen with mustache and bayonet trembling. Allen was henceforth to march quickly. He was brought before the commandant and, when all of the facts were known, was released with apologies. But his legs reminded him for days of the ordeal.⁹

Later that day Allen and his companions left Saltillo and began the five-day journey to San Luis Potosí, where they spent a week. In a letter to Colonel Sandidge dated July 18, 1865, Allen reported safe arrival after a long and tiresome trip. Governor Moore and Colonel Denis were with him; Mexico City was still three hundred

miles away, and funds were getting low. "My means are nearly exhausted, but I do not despair. I shall go to work with a hearty good-will, at anything by which I can turn an honest penny."

At San Luis Potosí, Allen sold the horses and mules and arranged for the group to travel to the Mexican capital by stagecoach. They made the trip in six days, arriving on July 27.¹⁰

On August 7, 1865, Allen sat in his room in the Iturbide Hotel in Mexico City and wrote a long letter to Sarah Dorsey. He had, he told her, been well received by both the civil and military authorities. Governor Moore, Kirby Smith, and others had already left for Havana. He was impressed with Mexico, although his view was characteristically chauvinistic: "In the hands of the Americans or the French," it could be a delightful country to live in. The day before, Sunday, he had gone to a military mass at the great cathedral in the city and had been impressed by the head of the French army in Mexico, Marshal François Achille Bazaine, and his staff in their brilliant uniforms. "The old church was crowded, a full band of music played, and during the ceremony, soldiers who were around the altar, with their muskets in hand, knelt and saluted, *a la militaire*." He had had an audience with the marshal and with other people in high positions, many of whom had called upon him.

Allen could not resist sightseeing: "I went today to the celebrated cypress tree, known as the tree of Cortez. It is near the city . . . and it really looks very old, indeed! It was here that Cortez sat down and wept. It was here he spent the '*triste Noche*.' Everywhere around this great city you see places full of historic interest. In the museum stands the huge sacrificial stone, covered with hieroglyphics."

He was already learning Spanish with the help of a private tutor and was preparing himself to teach school, by giving English lessons to some of the better families. This formula had worked amazingly well in Grand Gulf years before. Once again, all he wanted was to be able to support himself: "I, at least, breathe free air, and although I am poor and penniless, yet I am a free man; not shut up in a dreary prison. Poor Mr. Davis!"

There was one other bit of news—and a significant one. He had received an invitation to be presented to the Emperor Maximilian and the Empress Carlotta.¹¹

Editor in Mexico

"THE EMPRESS," Allen wrote Sarah Dorsey in a letter dated August 10, was "an elegant woman." She was highly cultivated, and spoke English well. She assured Allen that the Confederate exiles had her sympathy and that they were welcome in Mexico. Finding the Emperor equally gracious, Allen decided that Mexico City would remain his place of exile. He missed his home and friends, but that could not be helped. He was not entirely alone among strangers. More Confederates arrived each day, including Judge Perkins and Sterling Price. Perkins looked well and sent Mrs. Dorsey his regards. Allen was distressed that he had still received no letters from her—or from anyone else. "It is *strange!* But your letters may be at Matamoras. I know, I told you to write there. I have no doubt, I blame you unjustly, in my impatience . . . I think sometimes you have forgotten me."

The predominant Catholicism around him intrigued him. "The carriage containing the Host is just passing my windows. All are on their knees. Even the Emperor, in passing, has stopped his carriage, and has gotten out, and is on his knees! The French officers and soldiers, I see, do not kneel. They simply raise their caps."

He did not neglect his reading. "I am reading Prescott, I am ashamed to say, for the first time. Of course, you, who have read everything in all the languages of Babel, have read *it*. Don't you think it a remarkable book? Such great research and such beautiful style!"¹

On September 5 Allen received two letters from Mrs. Dorsey, one dated June 22 and one July 3. She mentioned having written others.

These, Allen was sure, were still at Matamoras. He answered immediately. It was good to hear from her at last. He was grateful for the news from home and "glad to hear that there is a prospect of returning quiet to our distracted land. I say *our*, I ought to say *your*, for I suppose I shall have to stay in Mexico."

Allen had news for her. He had made arrangements to publish an English-language newspaper. He enclosed a prospectus. The newspaper would be called the *Mexican Times*. He believed that such a paper, properly edited, would contribute much to the development of the vast and comparatively unknown resources of Mexico. The *Mexican Times* would concern itself with many things which always had been of interest to Allen: railroads, manufacturing, arts and sciences, polite literature, mines and minerals, and progress in general. Added to this would be a new interest—immigration. The paper would also solve one of his major problems: "I am too proud to beg, and too honest, I hope, to steal."²

Mrs. Dorsey was asked for assistance in the new venture. "You can't, of course, act as agent for the paper, but you can appoint one for me, and correspond for the paper. I will be under many obligations for your letters. Make them general. Touch gently on politics (*that is, in your letters for the paper*), as I do not wish to publish anything offensive to the United States authorities."³

On September 5, 1865, the Emperor Maximilian issued a decree: Mexico was to be opened to immigrants of all nations. The new imperial commissioner of colonization was one of Mexico's newest citizens, former Confederate Commodore Matthew Fontaine Maury, who was primarily interested in providing a "new Virginia" for Southerners. The Emperor, in his decree, obviously had Confederate refugees in mind. Free passage would be provided for those who had "lost their substance," as well as free transportation for goods. There were also provisions for slavemasters to bring along their Negroes to work as apprentices. The *Mexican Times*, as a part of this project, would be subsidized by the imperial government. For a while, in fact, Allen and Maury seem to have shared the same office at No. 13 St. Juan Letran. The forces of Juarez later seized upon this decree to discredit the Emperor. Copies were sent to the United States State Department to demonstrate that "the Habsburg archduke and the former enemies of the United States had combined to force Negro slavery on a free people."⁴

In mid-September the first issue of the *Mexican Times* appeared. A four-page paper, it was printed on the press of *L'Estafette*, one of the French-language newspapers published in the city. The subscription rate was \$1.00 per month, payable in advance. Half of the front page was devoted to Mexican history. The rest of the page explained the purpose of the *Mexican Times* and provided a list of recent immigrants from north of the Rio Grande. Maximilian's decree shared page two with two editorials, one on the policy of the *Mexican Times* and one on the study of Spanish. Page three presented the news, domestic and foreign, plus a conglomeration of theater items, advertisements, and announcements. Page four material consisted of an article on heraldry and an elaborate discussion of the Mexican empire and the United States, written by Francis J. Parker, who had been a colonel of the Thirty-second Massachusetts Infantry, United States Army.

On September 17 the newspaper *La Sociedad* acknowledged its new colleague and competitor, wishing the *Mexican Times* success and speculating that its editor was a "person highly experienced politically whom the upheaval in the United States has reduced to the necessity of finding a refuge in our country."⁵ After the first issue, Allen's name appeared on the masthead of the *Mexican Times*.

Allen learned about editing by doing it. Old interests and new ideas roamed through his pages. Some of the names which appeared were new ones. Among those familiar to him was one that appeared on September 30 in the obituary column—Pendleton Murrah, late governor of Texas, had died in Monterrey on August 10 of disease of the lungs, at the age of forty-one. The listings of immigrants to Mexico from the United States also contained familiar names.⁶

Allen's taste in poetry had not changed; on October 7, "The Harp that once through Tara's Hall" found a place on page one, with editorial comment. "Some years ago when we were younger than we are now—when we were full of romance and poetry and—money—we visited the 'halls of Tara'," the editor wrote.

Frequently Allen's attention was focused on a more immediate past and upon a present in the United States which he was not allowed to share. He reported that guerrillas were prevalent in the southwestern United States. He was not surprised to hear the opinion that "the negroes in the United States are idling their lives in the cities or robbing in the country," and agreed that "their insolence, the re-

pressed rancor of the Confederates, and the fanaticism of the fools of the North" would soon lead to "a general rising and bloody carnival without parallel in the annals of war." He waited for the "general rising" to take place, but meanwhile he conscientiously did his duty toward his benefactor, writing editorials to support immigration and reporting its progress.⁷

It was the first day of November, All Saints Day. All Mexico seemed to be a carnival. Allen watched the pleasure-seekers surge by, but he did not join them. He was writing a letter to Sarah Dorsey, from whom he had received two more letters, dated July 15 and August 23. The space of time in between is partially explained by the fact that the second letter was written from Natchez. Mrs. Dorsey had made her journey home. Hers were the only letters he had received since leaving Shreveport. He was, he wrote, still studying Spanish, and wished he had her gift of languages. Colonel Denis was on his way back to the United States carrying several messages for her. Allen was waiting for Mrs. Dorsey to send critiques of the *Mexican Times*. The paper kept him busy:

My whole time is taken up. I labor twelve hours every day, for I have to write all my editorials, and then see to getting up the paper. I can't afford to employ an assistant. My health is not good. I suffer much from my old wounds, and am sometimes so lame that I can hardly walk to my office. But, my dear friend, I ought not to tell you this, it will only distress you: you can give me no relief. I have long since shut out from my heart all hopes of aid or sympathy from any source. Sometimes my spirit sinks a little, but not for long. My wounds make me feverish. Confinement, you know, is always irksome; and when I am sick in this lonely chamber, and I pass hours and hours with no one but my Mexican servant to listen to the impatient ravings of a fevered brain, oh, then, I think of those dear ones I have left in Louisiana, of home, of all whom I love so much. But, my dear friend, enough of this, though it is a relief to be able to write you so freely! I cannot ask a pardon. A *parole* I would gladly accept. Perhaps a general amnesty may come—if not, I cannot with honor go back and ask pardon for what I don't consider a crime. Let my property go to those who have seized it—I can make another fortune.

Being an editor had its advantages: he went to the opera every night free. The night before, the performance had been Verdi's *Il Trovatore*. "It was beautifully rendered, and I could not keep from shedding tears. Music has upon me now a strange effect. It takes me back to the scenes of my childhood and my early man-

hood—to the pleasant days I have spent with the warm hearts from which I am now forever parted—and leaves me for a while sad, and almost brokenhearted.”

He had written a melancholy letter; he hoped Mrs. Dorsey would pardon it. She must write often. “How thankful I should be for such a friend,” he concluded, “indeed, I am.”⁸

Earlier attempts to establish an English language newspaper in the city had been unsuccessful. Allen was determined to succeed, but his health was against him.⁹ The *Mexican Times* received favorable comment in the Mexican press, and notices of its appearance were soon appearing north of the border. Late in October the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* discussed the *Mexican Times* and its purpose. The New York *News* found the first issue “full of that intelligence, enthusiasm, spirit, and loftiness of tone which are eminently characteristic of its gallant and distinguished editor.” Allen responded with thanks, acknowledging that he had not expected such compliments from the Northern press.¹⁰ The New York *Evening Post* characterized the *Mexican Times* as “a really sprightly, readable sheet, far ahead of the clumsy, lumbering native journals.” The New York *Times*, however, thought it ridiculously lacking in news.¹¹

Back in Louisiana, Colonel Denis, who was extremely concerned about Allen’s physical and financial condition, proposed to collect money for him. Allen, hearing of this, wrote Denis in protest. He did not want help from those who could ill afford to give it and, he assured the colonel, he was a happier man for working twelve hours a day. In a postscript to his letter he did admit that his wounds had reopened and that one leg might have to be amputated. Sarah Dorsey who was not immediately aware of the extremity of his financial straits, was worried about his legs and took one of his letters, describing the state of his wounds, to Dr. Warren Stone, the well-known Southern surgeon. Dr. Stone advised against amputation and recommended that Allen consult a surgeon friend of his in Mexico.¹²

On November 4 Allen noted in the *Mexican Times* that J. Madison Wells had been appointed provisional governor of Louisiana by the President. The new editor’s concern for the condition of postwar Louisiana continued. The unkind opinions of Andrew Johnson which had come so readily to his lips earlier in the year had been modified. By December 30 he could editorialize on Johnson as a far-seeing and wise statesman: “Knowing the great power of the nation over which

he presides—he indulges in no vainglorious boasting, no ill-timed threats, but with much modesty expresses the hope that the United States may live in peace with the whole world.”¹³

Allen continued, in his newspaper pieces and in his letters, to plead the cause of his fellow Confederate exiles and of immigration to Mexico.¹⁴ He took exception to items such as the statement in a Virginia paper that “all the distinguished Southern gentlemen now in Mexico” should “return to their families and their friends, with the assured conviction that they will not be molested.”

“Why are there any Confederates in Mexico?” Allen asked rhetorically, answering that it was because there was no other course to pursue, unless they preferred to be arrested and imprisoned. Mexico, he insisted, was the only refuge left to them. He appended a long list of his Confederate colleagues in Mexico, remarking:

In our daily walks we often meet them. Although chastened by adversity and saddened by the recollections of the past; although suffering much mental agony for a dear absent wife, or a tender daughter, or a bosom friend, still, with stout hearts, they are “buffeting the waves of misfortune.” Many who were once wealthy are engaged in the humblest avocations. They’re laboring hard for their daily bread. This bread to them is sweet, for it is earned by the sweat of their own faces, and in an atmosphere congenial to the lungs of exiles.¹⁵

Some of Allen’s fellow exiles were not as convinced as he that Mexico was their “promised land” and many were already returning home, thoroughly disillusioned. Allen insisted that the Emperor was not aware of the bad treatment some had received.¹⁶ The editor of *L’Estafette*, however, had already warned Allen and his friends that the Mexican people were not eager to welcome immigrants, that “foreign immigration, far from being desired or solicited, will find few hacienda doors open, few tables waiting, and few cordial welcomes from one end of Mexico to the other.”¹⁷ The editor of *L’Estafette* had also noticed, regretfully, “that one is indifferently welcomed by the colonization officer if he does not bear a Saxon name.”¹⁸

On December 12, continuing his attempt to ingratiate himself with the Mexicans, Allen traveled four miles by rail to the village of Guadalupe to witness ceremonies honoring the Virgin Mother. He estimated that five thousand people, mostly Indians, were present. How fortunate, he thought, that Maximilian was now there to direct

their destinies. "We raised the veil of the future and saw the descendants of these same Indians educated, enlightened, happy, and elevated in the scale of social life, by the wise, liberal, and Christian rule of Maximilian, the present Emperor of Mexico." ¹⁹

Allen was convinced of the Emperor's achievements. Maximilian, he felt, was honest and sincere and had done much to promote welfare and prosperity in Mexico. The possibility of a war between Mexico and the United States, and occasional rumors that the French would be withdrawn from Mexico disturbed him; however, he always hastened to reassure himself, and his readers, that neither of these possibilities was likely.

On December 20, 1865, the *Mexican Times* acquired a press of its own, and soon thereafter was published at Allen's office-residence at No. 8 Calle de Cordobenas, headquarters for all Confederate exiles living in or visiting the city. The editor, Allen announced, could be seen at all hours, and extra copies of the paper were always available. ²⁰

On Christmas Day in the city of Mexico, Allen addressed a letter to R. C. Cummings of Shreveport. Its purpose was to acknowledge the gift of money his friends in Louisiana had sent him. He felt fortunate to have such true, devoted friends, and they and the state of Louisiana were ever in his thoughts and prayers. He could want no better epitaph than the sentiment in the closing part of their letter: "Your friends are proud to know that Louisiana had a Governor who had an opportunity of securing a million of dollars in gold, and yet preferred being honest in a foreign land, without a cent." ²¹

A few days before, Allen had written an editorial entitled "Christmas Comes But Once a Year." Each year had brought many changes for him:

On last Christmas we were seated in our executive chair, the chief magistrate of the great State of Louisiana. . . . The Christmas before that we were a Brigadier General in the field. On the next previous Christmas we were confined to our bed, given up to die, and suffering all the agonies of terrible wounds.

Today we are in this great city, editing this humble paper, and coining our brain into daily bread; but thank God in good health—as it were rejuvenated—and now enjoying the hospitalities of the good and generous people of Mexico. ²²

Once again Allen was reassuring himself, trying desperately to

believe what he wrote in his paper. The future did appear a little brighter financially. Not only had he received money, one hundred and seventy nine pounds sterling (it was drafted on a London bank) from his friends in Louisiana, but the diamond studs and cuff links he had purchased in Europe in 1859 had proved to be a wise investment. He had given them to a friend bound for Cuba to keep for him at the beginning of the war and they had since been restored to him, perhaps in time to aid him in the acquisition of the press.

In the fall of 1865, unknown to Allen in Mexico or to Sarah Dorsey, who was then traveling in Maryland,²³ Allen's name was again before the people of Louisiana as a gubernatorial candidate. His popularity in the state was such that he might have been elected, but the regular Democratic convention felt that circumstances made his nomination unwise. The nomination went to J. Madison Wells, whereupon the "Young Men's Allen Association" organized in New Orleans announced for Allen, held mass meetings in support of his candidacy, and sent out a circular letter seeking statewide cooperation.²⁴ The letter, addressed to the people of Louisiana, said:

You, our fellow-citizens, are well acquainted with Henry Watkins Allen. You know his dignity of soul, his talents, his services, his sacrifices, the pure manhood and lofty chivalry that has governed every act of his past career, whether on the tented field or in an administrative capacity. You know him to be as true as steel, able, faithful, patriotic, and accomplished. . . .

Fellow citizens! Governor Allen is now an exile . . . although his return is anticipated within a few weeks. . . . What a compliment, what a testimonial of gratitude it would be to elect him to the first office in the commonwealth! The people of Louisiana owe this to themselves, to him, to the country. The debt of gratitude they are under could not be as well discharged in any other way. . . . It can be done, should be done, and must be done.²⁵

These young men had a popular candidate. Newspapers rallied to their support. Other Allen groups were organized and candidates for other offices were, in some areas, forced to declare themselves for or against him. However, many of Allen's friends feared political trickery and on October 21 published a notice in the New Orleans papers urging the people not to vote for Allen. He was, they said, presently ineligible for the office and his election would be inexpedient.²⁶ The notice included a statement by Allen's former

secretary, Edmund W. Halsey, that the announcement of Allen's candidacy had been without Allen's knowledge. Halsey said:

He will be surprised at the sudden, spasmodic, and very unaccountable nomination, made in a manner so obscure and peculiar. After two conventions, representing parties, have assembled and adjourned without nominating him, the anonymous call of the writer of the advertisement referred to, will seem a little strange to the heroic exile. . . . A fitting time will come to put forth that honored name for the suffrages of his admiring countrymen. In awaiting that time, his true friends will restrain their impatience, sensible as they are of his certain election to any position for which he may be offered. But on the other hand, it is very doubtful whether the unanimous votes of the admiring people of Louisiana would induce him to accept the Governorship under the so-called constitution of 1864.

At least twelve other friends of Allen concurred. So did the New Orleans *Crescent*, which saw the movement to elect him governor as mischievous and imprudent.²⁷

In spite of this opposition and the irregular nature of his candidacy, Allen's name carried five parishes. One out of every five Louisianians voted for him. A year later Mrs. Dorsey wrote: "Allen thanked his friends for putting down the movement; though now I think, perhaps, we made a mistake both for the State and our friend, who would have returned instantly, if elected, which he undoubtedly would have been. . . ." ²⁸

"Jan. 1st, 1866! Who can raise the veil of futurity? Who can draw the curtain of destiny and tell us what great events will take place in the year of grace 1866?" asked the editor of the *Mexican Times* who thought he could see "the silver lining in the dark and angry cloud." ²⁹

On the evening of January 1, Allen wrote a letter to Sarah Dorsey. Earlier in the day he had given a friend who was going to Louisiana three packages and a long letter to deliver to her. Allen had been so active that his legs were aching terribly. He now had his printers living with him, and Mexican servants helped keep house. He admitted, in response to her questioning, "Yes; I have 'lived for weeks on 25 cents—one meal—per diem.' *Who told you?* But that is all over now; don't fret about it. How could I complain 'and tell you of it?' how could you aid me?" As for his wounds, he was planning a trip to Paris in May to seek help there. Toward the end of his letter Allen answered another question Mrs. Dorsey had raised. In

spite of anything she might have heard to the contrary, he was anticipating no matrimonial engagement. "My dear friend, what would I do with a wife? I can hardly support myself in my exile."³⁰

January crept by. Allen wrote editorially in praise of the climate as if to reassure himself that it was good for him. At the same time he gave way to reminiscing:

Here we are . . . on the 6th day of January, enjoying all the luxuries of delightful fall weather. . . .

Come, ye consumptive men of New England. Come, ye asthmatic clergymen and lawyers of Philadelphia—Come, ye weaklunged men and women of all the world, and breathe with us the fresh, pure air of Mexico.

Friend Greene of the *Boston Post*, how do ye do, this biting, freezing morning? How thick is the ice on Spring Pond today? How many overcoats does it take now to keep a body from freezing? How deep is the snow in the crooked streets of your grand old city? The huge and ancient elms on Boston Commons, and at old Cambridge must have a melancholy appearance all clad in the white robes of snow.³¹

In February nostalgia and reminiscence gave way to righteous indignation. Some months earlier an agent for Holloway Pills had approached Allen, desiring to run advertisements in the *Mexican Times*. "The price was agreed on—the draft was given—and the work was begun." The advertisements ran until, on February 1, Allen received a letter from Benjamin F. Stephens, "the Holloway pill man," repudiating the contract. Allen fumed. Stephens refused to pay because the paper had been established less than twelve months and because he considered the terms too high. "We did not seek him—his lawful agent sought us—not once, but two or three times, and proposed himself to pay us the price agreed on." Holloway Pill advertisements were struck from the columns of the *Mexican Times*. For the next two months Allen engaged in a minor crusade against Stephens "and his swindling concern." "Benjamin Franklin Holloway Pills Stephens," Allen concluded in one instance, "should be condemned to sit in the pillory and swallow his own Pills, until he has purged himself to death."

On February 10 Allen notified potential advertisers that in the future no advertisements would run in the *Mexican Times* unless paid for in advance.³²

Most of Allen's time was devoted to making a living. He wrote Mrs. Dorsey: "I have made the acquaintance of but few ladies—I have no time: with me, it is work, work, work; my daily bread depends on it."

But he assured her that his paper was a success. It did not bring in much money, but his wants were few and she should not worry.³³

On February 24 the *Mexican Times* was six months old. Allen could report increasing circulation and was sure that his paper exerted considerable influence. The proud editor had fifty sets of the first twenty-four issues bound and placed on sale.³⁴

That same month Allen addressed a letter to "My dear H.," apparently his friend and former private secretary Edmund Halsey, in which he noted:

I have read, with tears of gratitude, your entreaty for me to return to Louisiana. I would cheerfully do so, for I know that my friends are sincere but I cannot until I am assured of a pardon, or a guarantee is given that I shall not be cast into prison, or otherwise persecuted. As much as I love Louisiana and her people, I would not voluntarily go into a loathsome prison, and be compelled to get on my knees and ask for pardon, for the privilege of seeing my old friends again. Mrs. D. writes me that *there is no hope of my being permitted to return*. I therefore shall make my arrangements to reside permanently abroad: still, I shall never expatriate myself, but shall live and die an American citizen. On the 8th of April, I will be in Havana on my way to Paris, in order to have an operation performed on my wounded limbs, for I am suffering tortures every day.³⁵

Sarah Dorsey, who had not wanted Allen to go, now recommended that he not return immediately. Governor Wells of Louisiana had shown great kindness toward former Governor Moore in spite of long standing personal animosity. Encouraged by this fact, Mrs. Dorsey personally approached Wells on behalf of Henry Allen and Judge Perkins. Wells finally notified her that Perkins might safely return. "As for Governor H. W. Allen, I cannot advise his *immediate* return, *for reasons that I am not at liberty to communicate to any one in direct communication with him.*" Mrs. Dorsey forwarded this information and Wells's letter to Allen and set about unsuccessfully to discover what circumstances had set Allen apart from other Confederate leaders and made him unwelcome. When she was convinced that political enmities and personal jealousies were hampering Allen's cause, she resolved to petition President Johnson on her friend's behalf, and, yielding "to the solicitations of Governor Allen's friends, seconded by his own expressed desire," she began to write a sketch of his life and career to submit to the President.³⁶ She notified Allen of her intentions.

In his letter to Halsey, Allen remarked that Sarah Dorsey was working on his biography and he asked Halsey to assist her by reviewing and correcting the work before publication.³⁷

"Our friends in exile here are all making a living," he informed Halsey. "I consider this empire perfectly secure. France, and Spain, and Austria can't back out. Their honor is at stake. Your people are not prepared to go to war at present; for the South, although overwhelmed, is not conquered."³⁸

Allen continued, in the days which followed, to be concerned about United States intervention. The following week, exercising his editorial function, he asked: "Why then this new-born zeal for the Monroe Doctrine which has been long since exploded, and which no two men understand alike in the United States? It is used now under the guise of patriotism as a political claptrap for party purposes."³⁹

Sarah Dorsey was acutely aware that she had an important role in Allen's decision to remain in exile. A year later she wished that her advice had been different. "The impression was made upon me that he *could not return*, without danger of arrest, and I wrote him so." Mrs. Dorsey knew that her opinion carried more weight with him because she had so strongly opposed his leaving Louisiana in the beginning, and she deeply regretted the "false impression produced upon my mind by the words of Governor Wells, and others, I believe sincere friends of ex-Governor Allen."⁴⁰

Allen remained in Mexico and waited for April. "Bullfights, masques, and music, and the giddy dances have been all the rage," he reported in the *Mexican Times*. "The entire population of this great city seems to have turned out en masse for frolic, and fun, and general enjoyment." All of this reminded him of "those good old times" and carnival in New Orleans, "the remembrance of which . . . brings to our soul sweet but melancholy reflections."⁴¹

Artemus Ward was in Mexico City to take part in the festivities. He was aware of the sympathies of most of his English-speaking audience, and when he told them that the extensive silver service of Brigham Young "was worth more than that of any man in America, excepting, perhaps that of Benjamin F. Butler," Allen, in the audience, noted that the "laugh which came in here was loud"—and, one presumes, bitter. Allen for one, never missed an opportunity to attack the name or flaunt the reputation of "Beast" Butler.⁴²

On February 24 Allen's editorial was an open letter to Horace

Greeley, who had had harsh words to say in the pages of the New York *Tribune* concerning the Confederate exiles in Mexico. The two would, Allen assured Greeley, meet at the day of judgment. Greeley, he imagined, would stand as the Pharisee “—and you will thank God that you are not like the rebel slaveholder, at whom you will point with scorn and contempt.” Allen, on the other hand, as he stood with broken sword, planned to model his actions on those of the Publican. “God,” he said, “will judge us both.”⁴³

Allen continued to meet the “right” people. New York newsmen, Austrian diplomats, and American artists and engineers were all gathered into the circle of his acquaintance. He met A. J. Grayson, the ornithologist, with whom he had corresponded before that gentleman appeared in Mexico City. Grayson had submitted material to the *Mexican Times* as early as the previous November. Allen was impressed with Grayson’s portfolio, which contained representations of many different kinds of Mexican birds.

In March, after journeying for three and a half days, Allen arrived in the city of Vera Cruz for a visit. The journey had been a difficult one. The road was free of robbers, but it was extremely rocky and the stagecoach ride jolted and pained Allen. The trip did, he assured his readers, have its attractions. “The route from Mexico to Vera Cruz passes through all the climates. It is the most picturesque and interesting of any route of the same length in the world. The plains of Puebla and the valleys of Orizava and Cordova are unsurpassed in beauty.” When the railroad was completed, eliminating the arduousness of the journey, he was sure that people would flock to bathe in the ocean at Vera Cruz and to enjoy the seafood. En route Allen spent an evening at Orizava, where he found “many very agreeable acquaintances.”⁴⁴

Allen expected to be back in Mexico City by March 15, but that date found him still in Vera Cruz. Although he did not acknowledge it at the time, illness contributed to the delay. On March 15 he told Sarah Dorsey that he expected to leave the following day, but it was March 18 before he departed. While in Vera Cruz, Allen received three letters from Mrs. Dorsey, including clippings from the New Orleans papers which he forwarded to Mexico City. He wrote that he would soon be on his way to Europe and, although he did not know how long he would be gone, that she would hear from him regularly. He also planned to report these travels in the press. “My

paper will go on as usual. I will correspond with it, and also with the _____. My signature is _____. By this means I get the money to travel. Mr. _____ pays me so much per letter. *This is a secret.* Under this pay I hope to be able to travel twelve months, after getting through with the surgeon.”⁴⁵

What, one wonders, was the pen name he had chosen this time? And what was the name of the newspaper Mrs. Dorsey so carefully omitted?

The following day, in his letter to Mrs. Dorsey, Allen discussed immigration as it concerned the Confederate exiles. Many were still arriving and there was land enough for them, but he feared that those colonists who came without money would be miserable and would do better to stay at home.⁴⁶ Allen's attitude had changed somewhat since the previous September, when the *Mexican Times* reported: “Here you can get homes without money and without price.” This change had also been reflected editorially in the newspaper: “Wealth is accumulated here faster than perhaps in any other portion of the world, but do not come without some capital. . . . Immigrants coming to Mexico, must not expect to sleep on beds of roses.” In the issue of February 17 Allen had advised prospective immigrants: “In the first place, don't come to Mexico unless you have a little money. In the second place, it is better to send an agent ahead to examine the country and locate your land. Third, move if possible in families of 20 or 30. Fourth, don't leave the States after the middle of April, for the Vomite begins in Vera Cruz in May.”⁴⁷

On March 17 Allen wrote Mrs. Dorsey that he would leave the next day for Mexico City and would write her again from there. His reasons for traveling to Vera Cruz are not specifically revealed in the surviving record. Some portion of the time was undoubtedly spent near Cordova examining his own landholdings. In the *Mexican Times* of March 3 Allen had told his readers that he had secured a small piece of land near Cordova, where he expected to spend his “declining years amidst our own fruits and flowers—free from all envy—all hate—but with good will towards all men.”⁴⁸

Henry Allen felt that improvements might be made in Mexico City's drainage and flood control system. He had been glad to note in January that an old friend Henry Hirsch, formerly of Louisiana, had arrived in Mexico City. “If he is employed in this matter we can guarantee that the city will be kept dry, for he has for eighteen years,

been successfully engaged in draining Louisiana plantations, and keeping out backwaters six feet higher than the land." On February 10 the *Mexican Times* sounded an urgent appeal for Hirsch's skill and experience to be put to work. Allen warned: "The rainy season will be upon us in May, and then God only knows what will be the result."⁴⁹

Allen's interest in the production of sugar in Mexico was to be expected. He was also interested in Mexico's potential as a tobacco- and cotton-producing area and predicted that cotton would soon be among Mexico's exports. He even interested himself in the amount of salt produced. The *Mexican Times* reflected these interests.⁵⁰

The *Mexican Times* for Saturday, March 31, 1866, contained a paid advertisement for Holloway Pills. Thus Allen won another campaign, but he was in a somber mood and did not gloat. Holy Week in Mexico had fascinated him. On Thursday and Friday no carriages had been permitted on the streets, no levity allowed. On Friday he had watched an imitation of the Crucifixion. A naked Indian, as Christ, had been suspended from a cross between two others. Roman soldiers and Pontius Pilate were represented. He had watched Judas burned in effigy. The next day was Easter and a wave of festivity swept the land. Bullfights, operas, and a thousand amusements prevailed, but it was wise, the editor acknowledged, to have times like this when one fixed his thoughts on heavenly things. "The monks of La Trappe," he wrote, "when they meet each other make this solemn salutation: 'Brother, thou shalt die.' If all of us would think oftener of this warning, it would make us wiser and better, and prepare us for that long and dark journey across 'Jordan's swelling flood.'" ⁵¹

Escape from Exile

"WE ARE TRAVELERS in this world," Guy Mannering had written in 1853, "we must all march, march." Since entering Mexico, Henry Allen had found the words painfully, and on one occasion literally, true. Mannering had hoped eventually to "enter the pearly gates of New Jerusalem and say 'Home again, Home again.'" The sugar planter in Europe had considered making a pilgrimage to Old Jerusalem. Henry Allen, lying ill in Vera Cruz, although he did not report his illness to Sarah Dorsey until two weeks later, wrote her of his determination, after the Paris surgeon had finished his work, to visit the Holy Land. She could expect to receive his letters from the banks of the Jordan: "I have a strange romantic longing to bathe in the waters of that river, and to stand where Moses stood, and 'view the promised land.' " ¹

In 1865 the governor of Louisiana had spoken in Bunyan-like terms of the Pilgrim, progressing through the Valley of Humiliation and up the Hill of Difficulty, who "by incessant toil and hard fighting . . . gained the victory at last, and crossing the River entered into the gates of the Celestial City." ² Allen's had been a public pilgrimage. Again and again eyes had focused upon him and ears had strained to hear his voice. Even now as, exiled in Mexico, Allen prepared for another journey, one he hoped would restore his limbs and allow him at last to look upon the Jordan, many regarded him as a refuge and a source of strength. He was, one exile wrote the editor of the *Mexican Times*, "the beacon light to the stranded mariners who are now seeking this hospitable shore, in search of peace and quiet." ³

Allen, returning from Vera Cruz, had found a letter from Colonel Sandidge awaiting him. Enclosed was a copy of a letter Sandidge had written to President Johnson on Allen's behalf. Allen was appreciative of Sandidge's efforts and wrote to thank him. He did not, however, allow himself to hope. Certainly, he would like to return to the United States: "I would do so to-morrow, if I could with honor and safety, for I am still devoted to Louisiana and her people; but I have long since given up all hope of returning, as I have been advised that in my case the matter had been decided against me; therefore I am making my arrangements to live permanently abroad, without any hope of ever seeing my old and beloved friends again." As a postscript Allen added: "You are at liberty to say this to my friends, *'That wherever I may be, in Europe, Asia, or Africa, Mexico or South America, and your letter should reach me, permitting my honorable and safe return, I will turn my steps homeward, and obey with a joyous heart the call of the good people of Louisiana.'*"⁴

On April 2 Allen wrote Sarah Dorsey that he did not blame those who had returned to the United States for, despite the drawbacks, there were many more comforts there than in Mexico. In the same letter, he admitted that he had become ill while in Vera Cruz and that he was still not well. Although as he wrote he was "suffering terribly from dyspepsia," he expected soon to be on his way and to write her again from Havana.⁵

Allen frequently thought of earlier days in Louisiana. "I would give the world, if I had it," he said, "to listen an hour to intellectual conversation!!" When he was informed that a former slave, Vallery Trahan, was working at the State House in Baton Rouge, he immediately wrote him a letter. He was glad to hear that Vallery was doing well and "glad to hear that you have not forgotten me, for I think of you very often, not only as my faithful servant in former days, but as my companion in arms, and on the battlefield. . . . If you should see any of our people again, tell them that I send them all my love." The letter was signed, "Truly your friend, Henry W. Allen."⁶

April 8, when Allen had first planned to be in Havana, found him still in Mexico City. His letter to Sandidge indicated that he had decided not to leave before April 20. On April 7, still planning to leave Mexico during the month, he wrote Mrs. Dorsey a long letter. He was finishing Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*, and he

had finally found some intellectual conversation: "A good Catholic Priest from Louisiana—a chaplain in our old C. S. army" (probably Father Carrius, whom Allen mentioned in the *Mexican Times* for February 17) came to see him often. "We discuss polemics very freely," he wrote Mrs. Dorsey. "I gather much information from this learned and good man."

He appreciated her desire to pave the way for his return to Louisiana, but he did not think that pressing President Johnson would do any good. Of course, he would like to go home and see his fellow-Louisianians again, but he could not wait for such an eventuality to plan his future. He expected "positively" to be in Paris by the first of June and told her how to write him there. He concluded: "I have written you a long, long letter, and no doubt annoyed you excessively, by its scrambling style; you will pardon it, as it is *the last for many weeks!*"⁷ But it was the last he would ever write, for when Sarah Dorsey received the letter, Henry Watkins Allen was dead.

Each day in April, Allen suffered more from his wounds. His stomach was disordered. He may have had yellow fever too, although John Perkins, who had seen him in March, insisted he died of "overfatigue." Captain P. H. Thompson and Colonel William A. Broadwell, both of Louisiana, Major Robert J. Lawrence of Missouri, and Major John Newman Edwards, who had worked with him on the *Mexican Times*, took turns caring for him. Edwards wrote Mrs. Dorsey: "One of us was in his room all the time—we never left him alone." Marshal Bazaine, hearing of Allen's illness, sent his personal physician. An aged Louisiana planter named LeBlanc also came forward and "nursed him with all the tenderness of a father."⁸

Allen's forty-sixth birthday was a week away. In the United States, Mrs. Dorsey, unaware of the crisis, continued to work diligently on his behalf. She was, it is true, alarmed by reports of his suffering. Each letter increased her awareness of Allen's longing for Louisiana which "grew deeper and deeper as the sorrows of sickness and exile pressed more and more upon him." She wanted him back, and so, she knew, did the people of Louisiana. She arranged for some of the letters Allen had written her to be given to President Johnson along with a request for parole, and received "hopeful assurances" that Allen would be permitted to return. The letters informing Allen of her progress arrived after his death.⁹

On April 22, 1866, the wife of Andrew Jackson Grayson recorded in her journal: "Our friend ex-Governor Allen of Louisiana died today. He edited a paper called *Mexican Times*. A noble and true specimen of a southern gentleman. Our arrangements being made to leave we can not remain to perform the last sad duty of our departed friend." ¹⁰ Allen had died that morning at eleven o'clock.

On April 28 the readers of the *Mexican Times* were informed of his death. The new editor, John Newman Edwards, paid his respects to his late friend and employer. The editor of *L'Estafette* joined in paying homage to his competitor, characterizing the man whom he had known only in exile as possessed of an "admirable disinterestedness" and "a modesty no less admired." ¹¹

Friends secured permission from the American consul in Mexico City to bury Allen in the American Cemetery there. However, when the consul learned of plans to dress Allen in his Confederate uniform and to use the Confederate flag in the burial ceremony, he withdrew permission. The Confederates yielded; there would be no uniform or flag. The consul later learned that Allen was buried "in the fatigue uniform coat which he wore whilst in command of Confederate troops." ¹²

Major Edwards wrote Sarah Dorsey from Mexico City on July 18, 1866, that Allen knew he was going to die but never alluded to it.

For nearly a month, he became gradually weaker and weaker, suffering all the pain and all the irritation of acute gastritis. I was with him when he died—had been with him during his entire residence in Mexico. He was perfectly calm during his whole illness; talked very little about himself, and very little about any thing. He left no particular messages to any one but to me. Many and many times, before his death, he would speak of you, Madam, with warm interest and affection. He spoke of Louisiana, his many friends, and took the greatest interest in hearing of their prosperity and success.

His lungs were not affected, nor did he complain much of his wounds. His physicians think it was a breaking down of the whole system, which culminated at last in a severe inflammation of the stomach. His death was very unexpected to every one, but his naturally vigorous constitution had been destroyed almost completely by exposure and terrible wounds. One bright, mild, tropical Sunday morning, with the soft whisperings of the breeze, and the chiming of the cathedral bells coming in through the half-opened window, he breathed his last. One short, sharp struggle, and all was over. . . .

The stars of his rank, a *silver goblet*, and one or two other little remembrances I have given to Judge Perkins, at Cordova, who, before I

had received your letter, asked me for them, that he might send them to you.¹³

One of the remembrances was a notebook which Allen had kept in 1862. In it Sarah Dorsey found a few pages of prose and verse, and several lengthy extracts from the Liturgy of the Episcopal Church. Also included in the notebook were the lines:

Teach me to feel another's woe,
To hide the fault I see;
That mercy I to others show,
That mercy show to me.¹⁴

On May 11, 1866, the news of Allen's death was brought to New Orleans by the brig *Calliope*. The *Daily Picayune* reported: "There are few men who could have departed this life, who would be more generally mourned throughout the limits of Louisiana. He was endeared to every class of our people. . . . He was, indeed, the Chevalier Bayard of the war . . . *sans peur, sans reproche*."¹⁵ In Baton Rouge, Allen's old friend the *Daily Comet* joined in mourning as "a fond mother mourns the death of a dearly beloved child." The *Bossier Banner* was edged in black for three weeks. Newspapers all over the state paid eloquent tribute to the late governor.¹⁶

Upon hearing of Allen's death, some fifty of his friends met at the St. Charles Hotel in New Orleans and subscribed about fourteen hundred dollars to bring his body home. Edmund Halsey, elected secretary of the group, was instructed to contact Mexican officials for information concerning procedure. Halsey and Henry Denis communicated with J. Bankhead Magruder in Mexico. Governor Wells and Mayor John T. Monroe of New Orleans wrote the mayor of Mexico City. Denis also wrote seeking the support of the editor of *L'Estafette*. Magruder, after contacting the Emperor and other officials, informed Halsey that Allen's remains could be removed with suitable precautions. He had been assured of the cooperation of the Mexican officials. Back in Louisiana, the H. W. Allen Monumental Association made plans for the return of the late exile.¹⁷

Sarah Dorsey expanded the biographical data she had collected to accompany her petition into a volume of recollections. She interviewed and corresponded with schoolmates, cousins, political and military associates, former slaves, and anyone who might contribute information—even the Italian master who had taught dancing at

Allendale. Her *Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen* went to press while Allen's body was still buried in Mexico, but she reported that the steamship line which plied from Vera Cruz to New Orleans had offered to transport the remains to New Orleans without charge and that soon the body of Henry Allen would be back on Louisiana soil.¹⁸

In England, Mrs. Dorsey's *Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen* came into the hands of the two Englishmen Allen had met in Florence. One of them, Reverend J. C. Robertson, wrote his appraisal of the book and of the man. Henry Allen, he reported, was a Southerner, a duelist, a slaveowner whose "ideas of Patriotism were bound up with the maintenance of slavery." The Allen he remembered had been "much given to energetic language, had a tendency to boast, and his ways of thinking on very many subjects were widely different from ours." Nevertheless, the Englishman said, a slight acquaintance "was enough to show us something of his better parts—his strength of character, the energy which would make itself a way, the singular modesty so oddly combined with qualities which might have seemed altogether incompatible with it."¹⁹

Captain M. Hanley was chosen to escort Allen's remains on their homeward journey. He left New Orleans for Mexico on December 6. Former associates of Allen in Mexico were most helpful and, by the first week in January, the necessary arrangements were made. On January 24, 1867, Allen's body arrived in New Orleans.

Edward R. S. Canby, the commanding general of Federal troops occupying the district, forbade any display of flags or guns, and the New Orleans *Crescent* on January 27 warned that "there will be no display of any sort; no music, no salvos of artillery, no flaunting of banners, no military procession. The brave, generous, whole-souled and noble Allen will be buried with the funeral ceremonies of a citizen."

Funeral services were held the next day, a Sunday, at Christ Church. There was no sermon; the bishop, Reverend J. P. B. Wilmer, read a simple burial service before the friends and admirers of the late governor who packed the church. Then the pallbearers, chosen from among Allen's close friends and former associates, carried the casket from the church. A procession made its way through the city along twenty blocks thronged with people. Hundreds of others were waiting at the grave. The New Orleans *Times* acknowledged that "not even partisan or sectional hostility—not all the revengeful

thoughts and passions engendered by a war . . . could suppress or restrain . . . testimonials of respect. . . . Even those who had been arrayed against the deceased in mortal conflict could not withhold their admiration.”²⁰

Allen’s body had some difficulty finding rest even in death. The H. W. Allen Monumental Association announced earlier that he would be buried in Baton Rouge, but for some reason changed its mind and interred him at New Orleans to the consternation of many people elsewhere in the state. In Baton Rouge, the *Tri-Weekly Advocate* reported: “The hopes and expectations of thousands of Governor Allen’s friends have been disappointed.” The *Felician Democrat* noted “considerable feeling . . . elicited by the change throughout the country parishes.” The *Ouachita Telegraph* insisted that Allen should be buried “among his flowers and shrubs, magnolias and cedars—beneath the ruins of our Gothic capitol where he may sleep evermore.”²¹ Other newspapers chorused similar sentiments but Allen’s body remained in New Orleans and, in the three years which followed, the Allen association did nothing about erecting a monument. However, in March 1870, the association was reorganized and fund-raising began. Two years later the association contracted for a monument of Missouri granite to consist of a shaft twenty-six feet long, rising from a large base. The monument was erected by the end of 1872.

Ten more years passed. Baton Rouge had again become the capital of Louisiana and the capitol building had been restored. Once again there was pressure to move Allen’s body. Within two years the state legislature voted to pay the cost of transferring the remains and the monument to Baton Rouge and, with the consent of the Allen association, to make room for them in the northwest corner of the capitol grounds. An elaborate ceremony was planned. Henry M. Favrot agreed to speak on Allen’s military career, and the surviving veterans of the Fourth Louisiana received special invitations. Thomas G. Sparks was on hand to assess Allen’s role as chief executive. Other military organizations and civic groups were represented. State officials were joined by foreign consuls, and both military and civil officials of the United States government participated.

Early on July 4, 1885, a train left New Orleans for Baton Rouge. Aboard were members of the monumental association, the Fourth Louisiana Regiment, other military and civic groups, and many

friends and admirers of Henry Allen, whose body they accompanied. At Baton Rouge thousands of people awaited the train's arrival and then followed the coffin from the depot to the capitol grounds. Among them was former slave Vallery Trahan, who had come to pay his respects to his friend Henry W. Allen.²²

Epilogue

HENRY WATKINS ALLEN had roots grown deep in American soil since the seventeenth century. Both his grandfathers had served in the Revolutionary War. He might have become a yeoman farmer, a business tycoon, a Crockettish pursuer of horizons, a gambler, or a crotchety observer of the passing scene. He chose instead to join the ranks of the plantation aristocracy, using the force of his personality to unlock the doors which separated him from his goals.

As a youth he wanted to be part of that larger world which always lies beyond; he wanted events in actuality to fulfill the tingle of his anticipation; most of all, he did not want to keep destiny waiting. Other Allens industriously carved niches for themselves in Missouri, but the whistle of the riverboat urged Henry Allen to seek adventure, independence, and honor in the South.

Allen moved to solidify his liaison with the plantation aristocracy in Mississippi by his marriage to Salome Ann Crane. Love helped make the decision. The girl's family, however, suspected his motives. After the marriage ended tragically with Salome's death, Allen was never again admitted into the family circle. Nevertheless, his activities, including his term in the Mississippi Legislature, had made him an increasing number of prominent friends.

In Louisiana, Allen secured himself in ciceronian fashion by becoming the most energetic spokesman of the sugar planters. He also proceeded to travel, to entertain, and to be entertained, abiding by approved standards, except the fiat against excess. Allen was a deliberate and conscientious tourist and continued to make a point of meeting the right people. In Washington he dropped in on the

President. Writing home from London, he explained his failure to visit the Queen: she was out of town.

The master of Allendale achieved prominence in Louisiana political circles as a member of the American Party. Then he gradually moved toward the Democratic position, becoming floor leader of the Louisiana house to complete the transition. By this time Allen's diffuse interests had led to the acquisition of a host of responsibilities. A paradoxical combination of poor health and indefatigable energy, he was always willing to add new activities. If there were those among his friends who disparaged his opinions and the vehemence with which he defended them, none doubted his sincerity. Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, he did not counsel restraint.

The War Between the States found him coolly capable of a reckless heroism in defense of the causes he espoused. He had become the man he wanted to be, and a true gentleman does not quibble about price. The destiny he sought made him one of the best possible governors of his adopted state at one of the worst possible times. It should not be forgotten, however, that challenge and response are frequently packaged together. The war provided a disastrous but glorious climax to his career.

Allen died "unreconstructed"; but ten years of Reconstruction, the longest military occupation the modern world had seen, remained ahead for his people. The personal and public failures of the dis-united South paled until such details were as lost as the war itself and everyone involved participated in the communion of nostalgia. Children of deserters as well as those of heroes wrapped their fathers' memories in the mantle of Lee. Poor whites joined rich folk in looking back toward "the old plantation" while clinging baronials and grasping bourbons cousined the world of William Faulkner and mothered the vinegar of Tennessee Williams. An entire generation approached maturity with no memory of a time when their land had not been under the martial law of brothers whom war had crystallized into "the enemy." The Old South had exhausted itself against insurmountable odds to preserve an impossible fiction. Allen was as responsible for this as any other, perhaps more so. However, as war-time governor of Louisiana he revealed a potential upon which, in a more distant future, men like Huey Long would draw.

Those who knew Allen and who had listened to him speak testified that he exploited the liaison which his voice created between him

and "his people." He had a magnetic power over crowds. He propagandized, and he drew the people toward him and toward his purposes. At times he came dangerously close to playing them as if they were mere musical instruments. Even Sarah Dorsey would stir uneasily as "the thrill would penetrate the wisest, and those who came to laugh and to criticize, would remain to weep and to shiver under the strange influence." Once, when a friend of his suggested that he "prune his sentences," and speak with more form and less ardor, avoiding emotional, exaggerated, and extravagant expressions, Allen listened but replied, "My dear Sir, the people understand me; I always speak to them from my own heart—I know my words will go to theirs." ¹

Everyone who had the advantage of knowing and watching Henry Watkins Allen in action was aware of incongruities in his makeup. Many of them had occasional difficulties in understanding his successes. All agreed that his motives were admirable and his honesty above question, that his flaws, although obtrusive, were minor, and that there was a greatness within him which always rose to the occasion.

As a military leader Allen was spectacular. As an administrator he was second to none in the Confederacy. His capacity for work, his ability to organize and inspire, his faith in himself, and his skillful choice of subordinates made it possible for him to take over a chaotic situation and, within a year and a half, bring hope to his part of the disintegrating South. He established order and came close to supplying the spiritual and material need of the people under him. Surprisingly, he did this without criticism from his subordinates and with the grudging admiration of even his Federal enemies. ²

It has been pointed out that most men of the planter class could not make the transition which Allen made—that they could not submit to routine and could not deal with others as equals, and that this is one reason the Confederacy was racked with personal bickering which prevented concerted action. Allen, however, in spite of his efforts, was not completely representative of that class. He became a sugar planter by a stroke of fortune. His advancement in the ranks of Southern society was part of a concerted and deliberate program of infiltration. His insistence upon "doing all the steps," his devotion to making even travel a matter of systematic thoroughness, his continual display of energy, his political astuteness, and his carefully

controlled ambition all combined to explain his readiness for the role he played.

Allen was an opportunist with a host of redeeming features. He had courage, character, and whether through accident or design, the requisite ability to serve. Most important of all, he had the opportunity.

Notes

CHAPTER 1

- 1 The complete text of Governor Henry Watkins Allen's farewell message may be found in the *Shreveport News*, June 6, 1865; the *New Orleans Times*, June 13, 1865; and the *New York Times*, June 25, 1865.
- 2 *Marshall Texas Republican*, June 5, 1865.
- 3 Sarah A. Dorsey, *Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, Brigadier-General Confederate States Army, Ex-Governor of Louisiana* (New York, 1866), 297, 322. The aide was Henry Denis, one of the important figures in Allen's life, later to become a professor of law at Tulane University.
- 4 Sarah Dorsey later earned herself a footnote in the history books as the woman who opened her home to Jefferson Davis while he wrote his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*. The home, Beauvoir, on the Mississippi coast, was left to Davis when Mrs. Dorsey died in 1879. See *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1930), V, 386. See also Ida Raymond, *Southland Writers, Biographical and Critical Sketches of the Living Female Writers of the South with Extracts from their Writings* (Philadelphia, 1870), I, 207.
- 5 Allen to Dorsey, June 1, 1865, in Dorsey, *Recollections*, 297.
- 6 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 308–309.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 322.

CHAPTER 2

- 1 Luther Edward Chandler, "The Career of Henry Watkins Allen" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1940), 1–4; Marie Oliver Watkins and Helen (Hamacher) Watkins, "Tearin' Through the Wilderness": *Missouri Pioneer Episodes 1822–1885 and Genealogy of the Watkins Family of Virginia and Missouri* (n.p., 1957), 4, hereinafter cited as Watkins and Watkins, *Genealogy*. Mrs. Dorsey erroneously states that Henry was the fourth son of Dr. Thomas Allen. Her mistake probably stems from the fact that Henry's father was the fourth son in his family. See Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 2.
- 2 Alfred James Morrison, *College of Hampden Sidney: Dictionary of Bi-*

- ography 1776-1825 (Hampden Sidney, 1921), 141; Watkins and Watkins, *Genealogy*, 3.
- 3 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 2; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution, April 4, 1775 to December, 1782* (Washington, D. C., 1914), 575; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 18.
 - 4 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 2-3.
 - 5 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 22.
 - 6 *Ibid.*, 23-24.
 - 7 Chandler ("Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 4) notes that "Mrs. Allen died sometime after the census report was made in 1830 and before May 6, 1833."
 - 8 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 21-22.
 - 9 Dr. Allen left an estate consisting of 2,660 acres of land, twenty slaves, farm implements, and house furnishings. Exclusive of all real estate, the property was valued at \$12,930. See Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 4-5.
 - 10 Watkins and Watkins, *Genealogy*, 5, 7.
 - 11 This episode is taken from a dialogue in *ibid.*, 5-10. In the Preface (p. vii) the authors state: "Some of the letters have been quoted, while others, too numerous to include, have been incorporated in the dialogue. The conversations are necessarily fictitious, but the events are authentic. Every event is documented or related by a responsible descendant. All letters are genuine and their ownership noted."
 - 12 Allen to Charles Watkins, March 8, 1835, in Watkins and Watkins, *Genealogy*, 11.
 - 13 Watkins and Watkins, *Genealogy*, 12. Henry Allen may have been the source for a later statement that Nat had fallen in the battle of San Jacinto. Mrs. Dorsey seems to assume that this was a battle fought sometime after President Sam Houston issued his call for troops in 1842, rather than in 1836. The Watkinses (*Genealogy*, 4) list Nathaniel as dying about 1842, but their source may have been Sarah Dorsey's book.
 - 14 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 23.
 - 15 *Ibid.* It seems probable that "the Bentons" who were among Allen's school-mates at Marion College were related to "Old Bullion," Thomas H. Benton of Missouri. That Allen knew Benton is certain; in later life he wrote that he had often "heard him in the Senate, upon the stump, and in private conversation." *Mexico City Mexican Times*, February 24, 1866.
 - 16 *Mexico City Mexican Times*, December 30, 1865. Allen was the editor of this newspaper (see Chapter 16).
 - 17 *Alexandria Louisiana Democrat*, November 1, 1865.
 - 18 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 23-24.
 - 19 *Farewell Address of Andrew Jackson to the People of the United States* (Harrisburg, 1837), 16.
 - 20 Watkins and Watkins, *Genealogy*, 38.

CHAPTER 3

- 1 H. S. Fulkerson, *Random Recollections of Early Days in Mississippi* (Vicksburg, 1885), 43. See also *Mississippi, A Guide to the Magnolia State* (New York, 1938), 326.
- 2 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 8.

- 3 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 25.
- 4 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 9; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 25.
- 5 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 25. Chandler ("Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 9) says "there is no evidence to substantiate this conclusion." The authors see no reason to distrust Mrs. Dorsey on this point.
- 6 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 26; Claiborne County (Mississippi) Circuit Minute Books, H (1840–42), 143, in the courthouse at Port Gibson.
- 7 Claiborne County (Mississippi) Circuit Court Writ Document Book (1844–50), in the courthouse at Port Gibson.
- 8 Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker (eds.), *The Writings of Sam Houston* (Austin, 1939), II, 490–91.
- 9 Sam Houston to P. Edmonds, March 11, 1842, in *ibid.*, IV, 80.
- 10 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 12.
- 11 New Iberia *Enterprise*, July 22, 1885.
- 12 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 28. Mrs. Dorsey commented, "Those familiar with the history of Texas and Houston's almost despairing efforts to gather an army, will not wonder at such words from his lips at that time."
- 13 New Iberia *Enterprise*, July 22, 1885.
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 29–30. Mrs. Dorsey says she quotes the incident from a private letter. The defending lawyer is referred to as Esquire T._____.
- 16 New Iberia *Enterprise*, July 22, 1885.
- 17 New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, May 23, 1866.
- 18 New Iberia *Enterprise*, July 29, 1885.
- 19 Houston *Morning Star*, May 6, June 28, 1842, quoted in Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 16.
- 20 New Iberia *Enterprise*, July 29, 1885.
- 21 Houston *Morning Star*, July 14, 1842, quoted in Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 17–18.
- 22 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 27.
- 23 New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, May 23, 1866. See also a letter written by Allen and published in the Baton Rouge *Daily Comet*, May 22, 1853. In it he relates a story of one of the men in his company who was fatally wounded "in an engagement with the enemy."
- 24 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 27.
- 25 San Augustine *Red Lander*, September 8, 1842, quoted in Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 19.
- 26 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 30–31.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 27. Houston also had expressed "lively satisfaction" with Allen and his men. See Williams and Barker (eds.), *The Writings of Sam Houston*, IV, 105.
- 28 Allen to John Sandidge, in Shreveport *Weekly News*, February 16, 1865.
- 29 Allen's land deals are recorded in Claiborne County (Mississippi) Deed Books AA, V, W, X, Y, and Z, in the courthouse at Port Gibson. See also Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 19–20.

CHAPTER 4

- 1 Fulkerson, *Early Days in Mississippi*, 45.
- 2 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 31–32.
- 3 Fulkerson, *Early Days in Mississippi*, 44. Chandler ("Career of Henry

- Watkins Allen," 22), in a note, informs us that he learned from the tax assessment rolls that Allen owned two dueling pistols.
- 4 Fulkerson, *Early Days in Mississippi*, 44-48.
 - 5 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 31.
 - 6 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 23. Chandler's statement that Allen attended the Whig convention in Pennsylvania at the age of nineteen, however, was based upon a misinterpretation of the evidence. See Mexico City *Mexican Times*, December 30, 1865.
 - 7 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 23-24.
 - 8 *Journal of the House of Representatives at a Regular Session of the Legislature held in Jackson, Mississippi, 1846*, 154, 156, 183, and *passim*.
 - 9 *Ibid.*, 219, 220, 224, 227, 228.
 - 10 *Ibid.*, 187-89, 234, 386, 488, 792.
 - 11 *Ibid.*, 777-78.
 - 12 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 26.
 - 13 Mary Bertron to her mother, December 1, 1849, in the possession of Mr. Smith C. Daniell, Port Gibson, Mississippi. Mary Bertron was Salome's cousin. At the time she wrote this letter she was twelve years old.
 - 14 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 34.
 - 15 *Ibid.*, 33-35. A cedar tree grew up near her grave. Montgomer and the cedar still stand, but the cemetery has had little care in recent years. When the authors visited it in 1960, part of it was in a barn lot and part in a pasture. Salome's headstone, although broken, could still be read. On it is inscribed: "Salome Ann, wife of Henry W. Allen and daughter of James and Martha Crane, Born April 5, 1825, Died Jan. 25, 1851. Farewell, Farewell, We'll meet my dear/In heavenly climes so bright so clear/ And then I'll wipe away the tear/ That's shed for thee, Salome."
 - 16 Allen to Mrs. Clarissa Young, January 11, 1865, photocopy in the Louisiana Room, University of Southwestern Louisiana Library.
 - 17 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 37.
 - 18 Hubert Spengler, *History of Cooper's Well* (Jackson, 1923), 33.
 - 19 Watkins and Watkins, *Genealogy*, 38; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 40.
 - 20 "Sale by John Nolan to Henry W. Allen and Wm. Nolan of Westover Plantation and other property," photocopy in the Louisiana Room, University of Southwestern Louisiana Library.
 - 21 See Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 30-31 and notes.
 - 22 Watkins and Watkins, *Genealogy*, 37, 40.
 - 23 *Ibid.*, 26.
 - 24 John Rice to Richard H. Watkins, April 10, 1850, in *ibid.*, 30. Another letter quoted on the same page gives the date of Dr. Allen's death as March 14 and lists the causes of death as "dropsy of the chest and an affection of the heart."
 - 25 Watkins and Watkins, *Genealogy*, 4, 37, 43; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 20.
 - 26 Watkins and Watkins, *Genealogy*, 38-39.
 - 27 R. B. Oliver, "Missouri's First Railroad," *Missouri Historical Review* (October, 1931), 12-14, 18.
 - 28 Henry W. Allen, "The First Railroad in Missouri," *St. Louis Western Journal and Civilian* (July, 1853), 308 ff., photocopy in the Louisiana Room, University of Southwestern Louisiana Library.
 - 29 West Baton Rouge *Capitolian Vis-a-Vis*, October 2, 6, 13, 26, 30, 1852.
 - 30 *Ibid.*, November 7, 1852.

- 31 Sir Walter Scott was one of Allen's favorite authors. There is no question that the novel *Guy Mannering* impressed him greatly. The *Baton Rouge Daily Comet* on August 8, 1854, for the only time, confirmed that Allen was "Guy Mannering."

CHAPTER 5

- 1 *Baton Rouge Daily Comet*, April 14, 1853.
- 2 *Ibid.* Here Allen is assuming a pose similar to that of the humorists of the Old Southwest.
- 3 *Ibid.*, April 19, 1853.
- 4 *Ibid.*, April 22, 1853.
- 5 *Ibid.*, April 26, 1853. The Harney House was at that time Baton Rouge's largest and finest hotel.
- 6 *Ibid.*, April 30, 1853.
- 7 *Ibid.*, May 3, 1853.
- 8 *Ibid.*, May 7, 1853.
- 9 Robert Toombs was United States Senator from Georgia. He later became Confederate Secretary of State.
- 10 *Baton Rouge Daily Comet*, May 11, 1853.
- 11 *Ibid.*, May 16, 1853.
- 12 *Ibid.*, May 19, 1853.
- 13 A Mannering letter written from Westover appeared in the *Baton Rouge Daily Comet* on May 21, 1853.
- 14 *Baton Rouge Daily Comet*, June 2, 21, 1853.
- 15 West Baton Rouge *Capitolian Vis-a-Vis*, July 6, 1853.
- 16 *Ibid.*, July 7, 1853. See also *Baton Rouge Daily Comet*, June 23, 25, 1853; *New Orleans Daily True Delta*, June 22, 1853; *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, June 24, 1853.
- 17 *Baton Rouge Daily Comet*, August 13, November 8, 11, 1853.
- 18 *Ibid.*, June 7, 1853.
- 19 *Ibid.*, June 22, 1853.
- 20 *Ibid.*, July 5, 1853.
- 21 *Ibid.*, July 16, 1853.
- 22 *Ibid.*, July 30, 1853.
- 23 *Ibid.*, September 15, 1853.
- 24 *Ibid.*, September 23, 1853.
- 25 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 43-45, 73-75. Mrs. Dorsey erroneously states that in 1853 Allen was "unanimously elected to the Legislature from his Parish." Dorsey, *Recollections*, 41.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 41.
- 26 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 41, 45.
- 28 *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi* (Chicago, 1892), II, 522.
- 29 *Ibid.*, II, 522 ff.
- 30 Raymond, *Southland Writers*, I, 205; Pilgrimage Edition of the *Natchez Democrat*; W. A. Evans, "Sarah Ann Ellis Dorsey, Donor of Beauvoir," *Journal of Mississippi History*, VI (April, 1944), 93.
- 31 Raymond, *Southland Writers*, I, 207-209.
- 32 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 42-44.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 42.

CHAPTER 6

- 1 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 44.
- 2 Raymond, *Southland Writers*, I, 207.
- 3 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 32.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 45.
- 5 A letter dated April 9, 1962, from Julie Grenier, publications secretary of the Harvard Law School, says Allen "registered at the Law School on June 2, 1854." Charles E. East, "The Journalistic Career of Henry Watkins Allen" (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1962), 48.
- 6 Baton Rouge *Daily Comet*, May 25, 1854.
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 *Ibid.*, June 1, 1854. Allen is referring here to Thomas Bangs Thorpe, the humorist, author of "The Big Bear of Arkansas."
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 This case should not be confused with another fugitive slave case, in 1851-52, involving a U. S. deputy marshal named Henry W. Allen. The two men were not related. See Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 47-48.
- 11 Boston *Post*, June 3, 1854.
- 12 *Ibid.*, June 7, 1854.
- 13 Boston *Advertiser*, June 8, 1854.
- 14 Boston *Commonwealth*, June 8, 1854.
- 15 Boston *Post*, June 10, 1854.
- 16 Boston *Commonwealth*, June 12, 1854.
- 17 Boston *Daily Times*, July 21, 1854. The Baton Rouge *Daily Comet* quoted this letter verbatim on August 8, 1854.
- 18 Judith A. W. Rice to Richard H. Watkins, August 26, 1854, photocopy in the Louisiana Room, University of Southwestern Louisiana Library.

CHAPTER 7

- 1 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 31-34. See also statement of Miss Tennessee Robertson, in the possession of Mrs. Laura Edwards, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. It would appear that Allen built the house, despite Miss Robertson's contradictory statement that it was built by Nolan. Much of the description follows Miss Robertson's statement. Her father, Judge William B. Robertson, owned the Gibraltar plantation in West Baton Rouge and was Allen's closest neighbor. Gibraltar was immediately above Allendale. Miss Robertson explained that the Allen house was built in almost every detail after the residence of her grandfather, Judge Thomas W. Chinn, who lived a few miles away. She reported that Allen was one of her father's "most intimate friends, he was often at our house, and I knew him well when I was a child."
- 2 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 45. The history of Allendale during the decade following its completion is an involved one. In 1857 Allen sold a half interest in the plantation to old friends from Grand Gulf, Charles D. Hamilton and his wife. The arrangements included a mortgage which was paid off on April 30, 1860. That same day the Hamiltons bought another quarter of Allendale from Henry Allen. Before another year passed, however, they sold their interest to Allen and a man named Barnabus Stevens. Allen and Stevens at this point each held a half-share of three-quarters of Allen-

- dale. The other quarter was owned entirely by Allen. On February 23, 1861, Allen sold Stevens one-half of the final quarter share, making them co-owners with 50 per cent each. Allen maintained his residence there throughout these transactions. Federal forces seized Allendale during the War Between the States, and upon their departure the house, with all of its contents, was burned. Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 34-36. See also West Baton Rouge *Sugar Planter*, May 19, 1866.
- 3 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 40-41.
 - 4 New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, July 6, 1885.
 - 5 New Orleans *Daily Crescent*, July 6, 21, 28, 1855; Baton Rouge *Daily Comet*, July 12, 1855.
 - 6 New Orleans *Daily Crescent*, September 4, 8, 20, October 24, 1855. See also Baton Rouge *Daily Comet*, August 10, 1855; Baton Rouge *Weekly Advocate*, August 30, 1855. This apparently is the senatorial race which Mrs. Dorsey (*Recollections*, 41) misdates.
 - 7 West Baton Rouge *Sugar Planter*, May 31, June 7, 21, 1856; Baton Rouge *Daily Advocate*, June 17, 1856; Baton Rouge *Daily Comet*, June 17, 1856; New Orleans *Daily Crescent*, June 18, 1856; New Orleans *Daily True Delta*, June 20, 1856.
 - 8 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 236-37.
 - 9 *Campaign Document No. 4: Speech of Col. H. W. Allen, Before the State Convention of the American party, held at Baton Rouge, June 16, 1856* (New Orleans, 1856), 3, hereinafter cited as *Campaign Document No. 4*.
 - 10 *Campaign Document No. 4*, p. 4.
 - 11 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, February 17, 1866.
 - 12 *Campaign Document No. 4*, p. 5.
 - 13 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, November 18, 1865.
 - 14 *Campaign Document No. 4*, p. 6.
 - 15 *Campaign Document No. 4*, p. 7.
 - 16 New Orleans *Daily Crescent*, January 10, 1857.
 - 17 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 43-46. In July, 1857, rolling stock comprised one locomotive, eight freight cars, and two passenger cars; a train had made the trip daily since June.
 - 18 West Baton Rouge *Sugar Planter*, July 4, 1857.
 - 19 *Ibid.*, October 10, November 7, 1857.
 - 20 Bossier *Banner*, quoted in West Baton Rouge *Sugar Planter*, March 10, 1858.
 - 21 *Official Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana* (1859-61), cited hereinafter as *Louisiana House Journal*. See also New Orleans *Daily Crescent*, December 14, 1859; West Baton Rouge *Sugar Planter*, January 29, 1859.
 - 22 Baton Rouge *Tri-Weekly Advocate*, January 23, 1867. See also Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 97-101. Mrs. Dorsey (*Recollections*, 48) says Allen made "trips" to Cuba. The landscaping and planting of the shrubs and trees was under the direction of Thomas Affleck. Chandler says Affleck "came to Baton Rouge in 1859 at the request of the Public Buildings Committee." Dorsey suggests that Allen was personally responsible for sending for Affleck.
 - 23 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 53-55.
 - 24 West Baton Rouge *Sugar Planter*, April 30, 1859.
 - 25 The letters published in the book were not merely reprinted as they had

appeared earlier in the newspaper. Allen did a great deal of rewriting and editing. Some of the letters in the book never appeared in the *Advocate*; others were drastically changed.

CHAPTER 8

- 1 H. W. Allen, *The Travels of a Sugar Planter or, Six Months in Europe* (New York, 1861), 2-9, hereinafter cited as Allen, *Travels*.
- 2 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, October 7, 1865.
- 3 Allen, *Travels*, 14-17, 19-36.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 25-39.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 39-41, 244-45. This episode remained in Allen's memory, and he wrote of it in the Mexico City *Mexican Times*, December 16, 1865.
- 6 Allen, *Travels*, 45-48, 61, 64, 243.
- 7 Baton Rouge *Weekly Advocate*, September 18, 1859. This passage does not appear in Allen's book.
- 8 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 46.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 342-43.
- 10 Allen, *Travels*, 70-75.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 239-40.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 103-104, 107-108, 116-17.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 125.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 126-34.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 143.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 151.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 157-58.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 161; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 45; J. C. Robertson, "Henry Watkins Allen," *Contemporary Review*, VIII (May-August, 1868), 42.
- 19 Allen, *Travels*, 231-32.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 169-77, 186-88.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 190-91.
- 22 Robertson, "Henry Watkins Allen," 36.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 36-37.
- 24 Allen, *Travels*, 206-207; Robertson, "Henry Watkins Allen," 38.
- 25 Allen, *Travels*, 207-213.
- 26 Robertson, "Henry Watkins Allen," 37.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 38.
- 28 Allen, *Travels*, 224-25.
- 29 Robertson, "Henry Watkins Allen," 38.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 39. Mrs. Dorsey (*Recollections*, 47) says Allen was "extremely sick, for several weeks." Allen himself wrote: "To Mr. William Forsyth, of Temple Bar, Q. C. . . . I am under lasting obligations. He was kind and attentive to me during my long and severe illness. Mr. Beverly Tucker, our worthy consul at Liverpool, I can never forget; for hearing of my illness, he wrote to friends in London to call and see me, and do everything requisite for my cure and comfort. These friends paid me every attention, and offered every assistance, and in due course of time I recovered."
- 31 Robertson, "Henry Watkins Allen," 39.
- 32 Allen, *Travels*, 236-37, 248-49.

CHAPTER 9

- 1 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 52.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 64–65.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 101–108, 112, 116.
- 4 Allen, *Travels*, 124–25. See also Chapter 8.
- 5 *Louisiana House Journal* (1859), 48; (1860), 39. See also *Baton Rouge Daily Gazette and Comet*, March 7, 8, 1859; February 23, 1860.
- 6 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 109–112.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 113–15.
- 8 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 48.
- 9 West Baton Rouge *Sugar Planter*, March 10, 1860.
- 10 Quoted in *Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate*, April 8, 1860.
- 11 *Louisiana House Journal* (1860), 10; *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, January 19, 1860.
- 12 West Baton Rouge *Sugar Planter*, February 25, 1860.
- 13 *Ibid.*, June 9, 1860. See also Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 87–90.
- 14 J. K. Greer, "Louisiana Politics, 1845–1861," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XIII (October, 1930), 622.
- 15 John Smith Kendall, "Recollections of a Confederate Officer," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (October, 1946), 1049.
- 16 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 92–93.
- 17 West Baton Rouge *Sugar Planter*, February 2, 1861; Robertson, "Henry Watkins Allen," 36–40.
- 18 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 94–95.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 66–67.
- 20 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 53.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 48, 54; *Baton Rouge Daily Advocate*, April 25, 1861.
- 22 *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, May 2, 1861.
- 23 *Baton Rouge Daily Advocate*, April 25, 1861. Louisiana had four commissioners, and Allen's name appeared first in their notices.
- 24 *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, May 9, 1861.
- 25 See, for example, Clifford Dowdey, *The Land They Fought For: The Story of the South as the Confederacy, 1832–1865* (Garden City, 1955), 92–93.
- 26 Quoted in Esther Penny Boutcher, *Hour of Splendor* (New York, 1959), 117.
- 27 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 51.
- 28 Dowdey, *The Land They Fought For*, 76.
- 29 Quoted in Avery O. Craven, *Civil War in the Making, 1815–1860* (Baton Rouge, 1959), 60.
- 30 Quoted in *ibid.*, 102.
- 31 Quoted in *ibid.*, 63.
- 32 *Mexico City Mexican Times*, February 10, 1866.

CHAPTER 10

- 1 *Baton Rouge Daily Capitolian-Advocate*, July 5, 1885.
- 2 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 51.
- 3 *Mississippi Gulf Coast Yesterday and Today* (Gulfport, 1939), 141.
- 4 *Baton Rouge Weekly Advocate*, August 11, 1861.

- 5 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 55.
- 6 Letter in the Dalton Watson Collection, Louisiana Room, University of Southwestern Louisiana Library.
- 7 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 56, 61.
- 8 Kendall, "Recollections," 1043; *Mississippi Gulf Coast Yesterday and Today*, 142.
- 9 Kendall, "Recollections," 1055; Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 129.
- 10 P. L. Rainwater, "Notes on Southern Personalities," *Journal of Southern History*, IV (May, 1938), 211-12.
- 11 Kendall, "Recollections," 1056; Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 130; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 62.
- 12 Braxton Bragg to General Daniel Ruggles, March 6, 1862, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. X, Pt. 2, p. 300, hereinafter cited as *Official Records* (unless otherwise indicated, all citations are to Series I).
- 13 Kendall, "Recollections," 1043, 1056.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 1056-57. See also Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 130.
- 15 Kendall, "Recollections," 1058.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 1043, 1058-59; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 73-74.
- 17 *Official Records*, X, Pt. 1, pp. 489-90.
- 18 Kendall, "Recollections," 1062-63.
- 19 Quoted in Dorsey, *Recollections*, 74.
- 20 Kendall, "Recollections," 1064. Allen's official report characterized the undergrowth as an "almost impenetrable thicket." See *Official Records*, X, Pt. 1, pp. 489-90.
- 21 *Official Records*, X, Pt. 1, p. 489.
- 22 Kendall, "Recollections," 1064.
- 23 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 74.
- 24 Quoted in Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 131-32.
- 25 Kendall, "Recollections," 1064-65.
- 26 Quoted in Dorsey, *Recollections*, 76-77.
- 27 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 81.
- 28 Kendall, "Recollections," 1065-66.
- 29 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 77.
- 30 Kendall, "Recollections," 1065-66.
- 31 See particularly T. Harry Williams, *P. G. T. Beauregard: Napoleon in Gray* (Baton Rouge, 1954), 139-49.
- 32 Kendall, "Recollections," 1067-68.
- 33 *Official Records*, X, Pt. 1, pp. 489-90.
- 34 *Official Records*, X, Pt. 1, p. 490. For confirmation see reports of Lieutenant Colonel Robert H. Barrow, *ibid.*, 420-21, and Major A. B. Hardcastle, *ibid.*, 602, 603-604.
- 35 *Official Records*, X, Pt. 1, pp. 479, 481.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 490.
- 37 Thomas L. Livermore, *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War in America: 1861-1865* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1957), 79-80.
- 38 Kendall, "Recollections," 1069-71.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 1071-73.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 1075; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 119-20. Mrs. Dorsey includes an incident worthy of mention: "Allen's men . . . began to dodge from their

work. Seeing this, he sprang upon the most exposed gun, and shouted to his command, 'Soldiers, you came here to fight: you are ordered to build this Battery,' and, drawing his revolver, 'D--n me, if I don't shoot down the first of you that dodges from this work; by G--d, no soldier of mine shall dodge from his duty!' This had an electric effect. He remained standing erect on his gun. The men rushed around him saying, 'We won't dodge—get off that gun—we'll die by you.' Setting rapidly to work again, they soon had their dangerous task completed, to his, and—their satisfaction!"

- 41 Kendall, "Recollections," 1044, 1070, 1077–79. See also Dorsey, *Recollections*, 122–23.
- 42 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 120, 123, 159–60.
- 43 Later the Confederates turned Port Hudson, Louisiana, into a river stronghold which outlasted Vicksburg by five days.
- 44 Kendall, "Recollections," 1081; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 12.
- 45 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 132.
- 46 Report of Major General John C. Breckinridge, in *Official Records*, XV, 76, 77–78. See also Brigadier General Daniel Ruggles' report, *ibid.*, 90–91.
- 47 Kendall, "Recollections," 1084–87; *Official Records*, XV, 90–91, 100–101.
- 48 *Official Records*, XV, 100–101. See also Kendall, "Recollections," 1087, and Dorsey, *Recollections*, 137.
- 49 Kendall, "Recollections," 1087. General Ruggles' report confirms the fact that there were two "battery" engagements.
- 50 *Official Records*, XV, 105–106. Ruggles refers in his report to the "unsurpassed gallantry" of Allen during this charge. According to Allen's report, "Among all the officers and men who distinguished themselves in that battle I shall mention only one by name—that is Private Seeders, of the West Feliciana Rifles, Fourth Louisiana Regiment. He took the colors from me as I fell and at the same moment received a terrible wound in the thigh." *Ibid.*, 101. Mrs. Dorsey spells the name "Cedars." Dorsey, *Recollections*, 138.
- 51 *Official Records*, XV, 101–102, 105–106.
- 52 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, February 10, 1866. The colonel, said Allen, "did not permit any acts of vandalism to be committed [at Allendale] as were encouraged by Beast Butler and his pal [Godfrey] Weitzel." He did, however, take away with him "a very fine white horse and a new English double barreled shotgun."
- 53 Kendall, "Recollections," 1088–89.
- 54 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 148.
- 55 Kendall, "Recollections," 1090.
- 56 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 144–45.
- 57 *Official Records*, XV, 100–101. "The doctor . . . succeeded in effecting something like a cure without maiming him. But his wounds continually caused him great suffering, and to all appearance shortened his life; whereas, if he had consented to sacrifice the more seriously damaged of his limbs . . . he might probably be stumping about stoutly at this day, with a reasonable hope of life, usefulness, and honour for many years to come." Robertson, "Henry Watkins Allen," 46.
- 58 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, February 10, 1866. See also Dorsey, *Recollections*, 145–46, 390.
- 59 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 146–47. See also *Official Records*, XV, 76, 77, 78, 101–102.

- 60 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 147.
- 61 Sarah Morgan Dawson, *A Confederate Girl's Diary* (Bloomington, Ind., 1960), 464.
- 62 Kendall, "Recollections," 1096-97; Mexico City *Mexican Times*, December 23, 1865.

CHAPTER 11

- 1 Statement of Brigadier General S. B. Maxey, given at the request of Colonel S. E. Hunter, April 9, 1863, in the possession of Miss Sarah Goodwin Brown, Baton Rouge.
- 2 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 233; Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 137-38. Allen was reappointed in June of the same year.
- 3 Statement of General Maxey, April 9, 1863.
- 4 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 159.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 166-67.
- 6 *Official Records*, X, Pt. 1, p. 35.
- 7 Allen to Hunter, June 13, 1863, in the possession of Miss Sarah Goodwin Brown, Baton Rouge.
- 8 *Official Records*, X, Part 1, p. 486.
- 9 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 228.
- 10 *Official Records*, XXII, Pt. 2, p. 974. See also Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 138; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 246.
- 11 Fulkerson, *Early Days in Mississippi*, 48.
- 12 Baton Rouge *Evening Truth*, July 3, 4, 1899.
- 13 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 233-34.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 166-69, 244. There is one indication that Mrs. Dorsey and her husband may not have left for Texas until 1864. "The war injured but did not destroy her husband's considerable property and the home on Elkridge plantation was rebuilt in 1864." *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 386. This statement, however, is suspect and difficult to reconcile with Dorsey, *Recollections*, 167. See also Raymond, *Southland Writers*, I, 207-208. Her statement that Mrs. Dorsey spent two years in Texas, if correct, may clarify the issues. Sarah Dorsey returned from Texas in August of 1865. If she traveled twice from Texas to the Mississippi River by land, assuming she never traveled by water, the second time must have been at the end of the war; the first time, when she went to Shreveport to visit Allen.
- 15 *Official Records*, XXVI, Pt. 2, p. 173.
- 16 Quoted in Dorsey, *Recollections*, 234.
- 17 Shreveport *Semi-Weekly News*, November 11, 13, 17, 1863, February 16, 1864; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 234.
- 18 The cotton card was an implement used in disentangling and combing out cotton fibers in preparation for spinning. Basically it was a coarse wire brush with wooden back and handle.
- 19 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 142-47.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 147-49. Chandler's statement that Allen arrived in Alexandria in August is in error.
- 21 Shreveport *Semi-Weekly News*, November 17, 20, 1863. The itinerary included speaking engagements in fourteen towns and required about 450 miles of travel.
- 22 *Louisiana Democrat*, quoted in Opelousas *Courier*, December 26, 1863.

- 23 Quoted in Dorsey, *Recollections*, 235–36.
- 24 In February, 1864, one month after Allen took office, the citizens of occupied Louisiana elected a governor and a slate of state officials. Michael Hahn became governor; J. Madison Wells became lieutenant governor. In April of 1864 a constitutional convention in occupied Louisiana revised the constitution of 1852; “a small number of voters” adopted the revision and reconstructed Louisiana functioned under it until long after the war.
- 25 *Inaugural Address of Governor Henry W. Allen, to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, Delivered at Shreveport, January 25, 1864* (Shreveport, 1864).

CHAPTER 12

- 1 Lilla McLure and J. Ed Howe, *History of Shreveport and Shreveport Builders* (Shreveport, 1937), 35.
- 2 Chandler, “Career of Henry Watkins Allen,” 195. Chandler is echoing the *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, July 5, 1885.
- 3 *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, May 28, 1891.
- 4 *Shreveport Semi-Weekly News*, January 29, 1864; *Opelousas Courier*, February 6, 1864.
- 5 Frank Lawrence Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy: Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America* (Chicago, 1959), 113–33.
- 6 Tom Lea, *The King Ranch* (Boston, 1957), I, 179 ff.
- 7 Many examples of Allen’s contractual arrangements may be found in the Louisiana State Archives and Records Commission. Microfilm copies are in the Louisiana Room, University of Southwestern Louisiana Library.
- 8 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 281.
- 9 See, for example, Allen to General Edmund Kirby Smith, March 12, 1864, and Kirby Smith to Allen, March 15, 1864; Emory Clapp to Allen, April 9, 1865; P. W. Gray to Allen, April 10, 1865, in the Louisiana State Archives and Records Commission.
- 10 Letter from George S. Denison, U. S. Treasury agent, to Honorable Hugh McCulloch, November 18, 1865, *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (October, 1940), 1229–30 and 1231.
- 11 *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (October, 1940), 1231–32.
- 12 See, for example, Sandidge to Allen, December 15, 1864, in the Louisiana State Archives and Records Commission. “When the government is no longer able to protect us against our enemies,” wrote Sandidge, “we should not be ruined because our enemies might profit by robbing us.”
- 13 Allen to Kirby Smith, December 21, 1864, quoted in Dorsey, *Recollections*, 283.
- 14 The Louisiana State Archives and Records Commission has dozens of letters concerning this matter. See, for example, Edward Jacobs to Allen, March 3, 1865. Jacobs reports purchase of twenty thousand pairs of cotton and five thousand pairs of wool cards at \$14 per dozen.
- 15 *Annual Message of Governor Henry Watkins Allen to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, January, 1865* (Shreveport, 1865), hereinafter cited as *Annual Message to the Legislature, 1865*. See also Jared Sparks to Allen, July 5, 1864, in the Louisiana State Archives and Records Commission. Sparks found eighty-three looms at the penitentiary and had them distributed among responsible planters.

- 16 Quoted in Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 168.
- 17 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 168-71; *Annual Message to the Legislature*, 1865.
- 18 Contract between Allen and Daniel Cole, president of the board of directors of the Sulphur Fork Iron Works of Davis County, Texas, microfilm copy in the Louisiana Room, University of Southwestern Louisiana Library.
- 19 *Annual Message to the Legislature*, 1865.
- 20 Kendall, "Recollections," 1142; Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 174-75; Sandidge to Allen, October 24, 1864, microfilm copy in the Louisiana Room, University of Southwestern Louisiana Library. Chandler says no agreement was reached, but Sandidge's letter specifically states otherwise.
- 21 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 240-41.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 254.
- 23 Alexandria *Louisiana Democrat*, November 1, 1865. See also Dorsey, *Recollections*, 279-80.
- 24 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 251-52.
- 25 Louisiana Contingent Fund ledger, microfilm copy in the Louisiana Room, University of Southwestern Louisiana Library; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 243-44. See also William F. Zornow, "State Aid for Indigent Soldiers and their Families in Louisiana, 1861-1865," in *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX (July, 1956), 375-80; and Allen to Hunter, March 20, 1865, in the possession of Miss Sarah Goodwin Brown, Baton Rouge.
- 26 Quoted in Dorsey, *Recollections*, 246-47.
- 27 Jefferson Davis to Allen, April 9, 1864, in the Louisiana State Archives and Records Commission. In Davis' letter is the statement: "Your letter to me is dated the 23rd of February." Allen's appointment of a commissioner followed this exchange of letters.
- 28 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, November 4, 1865.
- 29 The proclamation is quoted in Dorsey, *Recollections*, 247-49.
- 30 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 249-50. However, see Barnes F. Lathrop, "Disaffection in Confederate Louisiana: The Case of William Hyman," *Journal of Southern History*, XXIV, (August, 1958), 308-18. Professor Lathrop in a note on p. 313 says, "Mrs. Dorsey makes a good anecdote of a supposed interview between Allen and Smith on the subject of Hyman's exile. . . . That an interview took place along the lines described, and that Hyman was obnoxious to both Allen and Smith, is probable, but the existence of Anderson's note to Allen throws doubt on the crisp ending alleged by Mrs. Dorsey."
- 31 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 182-83. See also *Annual Message to the Legislature*, 1865. Allen in this message gave the figure \$425,249.61 for the last half of 1864.
- 32 Quoted in Dorsey, *Recollections*, 255.
- 33 *Official Report Relative to the Conduct of Federal Troops in Western Louisiana, During the Invasions of 1863 and 1864. Compiled from sworn testimony under direction of Governor Henry W. Allen* (Shreveport, 1865). The quotation is from Allen's Preface.
- 34 Shreveport *Semi-Weekly News*, April 29, 1865.
- 35 *Annual Message to the Legislature*, 1865.
- 36 *Official Records*, LXI, Pt. 3, p. 774.
- 37 *Annual Message to the Legislature*, 1865.
- 38 *Acts of the Legislature, State of Louisiana* (1865), 22-23.

- 39 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 257.
- 40 New Orleans *Daily Crescent*, May 15, 1866.
- 41 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 255.
- 42 *Ibid.*, 284–85.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 284.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 252–53.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 257–59.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 42, 47–48, 51–52, 259.
- 47 “Polignac’s Mission, An Interesting Chapter in Confederate History,” *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XXXII (1904), 364–71.
- 48 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 284.

CHAPTER 13

- 1 William T. Windham, “The Problem of Supply in the Trans-Mississippi Confederacy,” *Journal of Southern History*, XXVII (May, 1961), 149–68; Chandler, “Career of Henry Watkins Allen,” 196–99.
- 2 Joseph Howard Parks, *General Edmund Kirby Smith, C.S.A.* (Baton Rouge, 1954), 259, 264. See also Dorsey, *Recollections*, 256–60; Chandler, “Career of Henry Watkins Allen,” 200.
- 3 Parks, *General Kirby Smith*, 280–81.
- 4 Windham, “Trans-Mississippi Confederacy,” *passim*; Chandler, “Career of Henry Watkins Allen,” 201.
- 5 Chandler, “Career of Henry Watkins Allen,” 202–205; Parks, *General Kirby Smith*, 211–16.
- 6 Chandler, “Career of Henry Watkins Allen,” 207–208. The Davis letter indicates that this Confederate law was enacted on February 17 rather than February 27 as Chandler has it. Davis to Allen, April 9, 1864, in the Louisiana State Archives and Records Commission.
- 7 Parks, *General Kirby Smith*, 348.
- 8 *Official Records*, XXXIV, Pt. 1, 1047; Chandler, “Career of Henry Watkins Allen,” 211–13.
- 9 Chandler, “Career of Henry Watkins Allen,” 214–15; Jackson Beauregard Davis, “The Life of Richard Taylor,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (January, 1941), 89; Richard Hobson Williams, “General Banks’ Red River Campaign,” *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXXII (January, 1949), 122; Parks, *General Kirby Smith*, 391; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 261.
- 10 *Address of the Governor of Louisiana to the Soldiers of Missouri, Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana* (Shreveport, 1864). See also J. P. Blessington, *The Campaigns of Walker’s Texas Division* (New York, 1875), 204–206.
- 11 *Official Records*, XXXIV, Pt. 3, p. 778.
- 12 See, for example, Davis, “The Life of Richard Taylor,” 97–98; Williams, “General Banks’ Red River Campaign,” 140–42; Parks, *General Kirby Smith*, 403–14.
- 13 Parks, *General Kirby Smith*, 420, 423, 427–28.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 443–45.
- 15 *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 14

- 1 Shreveport *Semi-Weekly News*, April 22, 1865.
- 2 Quoted in Parks, *General Kirby Smith*, 461.

- 3 Shreveport *Semi-Weekly News*, May 11, 1865.
- 4 *Ibid.*, May 4, 1865.
- 5 Parks, *General Kirby Smith*, 463-64.
- 6 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 285-287.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 287-88. See also Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 222-23; and Parks, *General Kirby Smith*, 464-65. Mrs. Dorsey quotes Smith's letter to the governors (p. 288). May 9 was a Tuesday; therefore, the "Saturday" when the Federal commissioners were to leave was May 13. "To wait a day" would be no help. Mrs. Dorsey says (p. 288) that the meeting of the governors was to take place "on the following Monday." However, her own documentation, *e.g.*, the letters on pp. 290 and 292, indicates the conference was in session by Saturday, May 13. Perhaps Allen meant "to wait a day longer." Chandler says the governors were to meet on May 10, but this would not have been possible if the invitations were issued on May 9.
- 8 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 289-94; Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 223-24. See the memorandum of General S. B. Buckner dated June 11, 1866, quoted in full in Dorsey (pp. 300-302): "Governor Allen was very much in the confidence of General Kirby Smith . . . the General advised freely with him, in reference to the action to be pursued, on receiving the intelligence of Lee's surrender. The Conference of the Governors was determined upon, after consultation with Governor Allen. Governor Allen was selected by the Governors to be the bearer of the result of their action to Washington."
- 9 Shreveport *Semi-Weekly News*, May 18, 1865.
- 10 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 293-94.
- 11 Buckner memorandum, quoted in *ibid.*, 300-302. See also Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 224.
- 12 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 291-92, 295-96.
- 13 Parks, *General Kirby Smith*, 475. See also Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 225.
- 14 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 303. Mrs. Dorsey says, "Cotton sufficient to pay every just debt of the State, was left by Allen belonging to the State."
- 15 Allen to Sandidge, quoted in New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, June 28, 1865.
- 16 Shreveport *News*, June 6, 1865.
- 17 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 302.

CHAPTER 15

- 1 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 324-25.
- 2 Quoted in Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 233.
- 3 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 326.
- 4 Parks, *General Kirby Smith*, 481-82. See also Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 234.
- 5 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 322, 326-27. See also Parks, *General Kirby Smith*, 481.
- 6 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 235-36; Parks, *General Kirby Smith*, 482.
- 7 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 49-50.
- 8 Parks (*General Kirby Smith*, 482) erroneously says General Wilcox left on the fifth. Wilcox apparently was with Allen.

- 9 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, December 23, 1865. There are several discrepancies between this account written by Allen and the one which appears in Dorsey, *Recollections*, 327.
- 10 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 327–29. There is a discrepancy in the dates. Chandler (“Career of Henry Watkins Allen,” 238) says Allen arrived in Mexico City on July 28. Mrs. Dorsey quotes a member of Allen’s party who gave the date of arrival as July 27.
- 11 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 329–31.

CHAPTER 16

- 1 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 331–32.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 332–33. See prospectus of Allen’s newspaper in Mexico City *Mexican Times*, September 30, 1865.
- 3 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 333.
- 4 K. A. Hanna, “The Roles of the South in the French Intervention in Mexico,” *Journal of Southern History*, XX (February, 1954), 19–20; Alfred J. Hanna, “A Confederate Newspaper in Mexico,” *Journal of Southern History*, XII (February, 1946), 68; Mexico City *Mexican Times*, November 4, 1865.
- 5 Quoted in Alfred J. Hanna, “A Confederate Newspaper in Mexico,” 67, 69.
- 6 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, September 30, October 7, 1865.
- 7 *Ibid.*, October 21, 1865.
- 8 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 333–35.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 343–44.
- 10 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, November 18, 1865.
- 11 Chandler, “Career of Henry Watkins Allen,” 244.
- 12 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 344.
- 13 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, November 4, December 30, 1865.
- 14 See, for example, Allen to A. J. Grayson, November 20, 1865, in Andrew Jackson Grayson Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
- 15 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, November 11, 1865.
- 16 Allen to A. J. Grayson, November 20, 1865, in Grayson Papers.
- 17 Quoted in Alfred J. Hanna, “A Confederate Newspaper in Mexico,” 64.
- 18 Quoted in Mexico City *Mexican Times*, November 18, 1865.
- 19 *Ibid.*, December 16, 1865.
- 20 *Ibid.*, December 30, 1865. See also Alfred J. Hanna, “A Confederate Newspaper in Mexico,” 74.
- 21 Allen to R. C. Cummings, December 25, 1865, quoted in Dorsey, *Recollections*, 336–37.
- 22 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, December 23, 1865.
- 23 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 343, 346.
- 24 Chandler, “Career of Henry Watkins Allen,” 275.
- 25 Quoted in Dorsey, *Recollections*, 346–47.
- 26 Chandler, “Career of Henry Watkins Allen,” 275.
- 27 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 349–350.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 346.
- 29 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, December 30, 1865.
- 30 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 338–39.
- 31 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, January 6, 1866.

- 32 *Ibid.*, February 10, 1866. See also *ibid.*, January 20, February 24, March 31, 1866.
- 33 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 340.
- 34 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, February 24, 1866. It is a rather grim commentary on the transitory nature of things, but apparently none of these volumes survived. Only one complete file of the *Mexican Times* is known to exist, and that, in imperfect condition, is in the Louisiana State University Library.
- 35 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 357-58.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 357.
- 37 Concerning this, Mrs. Dorsey comments: "The request made of this friend, by Governor Allen (*at my instance*,) will be scrupulously complied with. This manuscript will be placed in his hands, and will, doubtlessly, be honestly supervised." *Ibid.*, 359.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 358-59.
- 39 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, February 17, 1865.
- 40 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 359.
- 41 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, February 17, 1866.
- 42 *Ibid.*, January 27, February 17, 1866. Concerning General Godfrey Weitzel and his "obscene orgies," see *Official Report Relative to the Conduct of Federal Troops in Western Louisiana*, 36-38.
- 43 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, February 24, 1866.
- 44 *Ibid.*, February 17, March 3, 17, 31, 1866.
- 45 *Ibid.*, March 17, 1866; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 340-42.
- 46 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 341.
- 47 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, September 16, 1865, February 3, 17, 1866. See also Alfred J. Hanna, "A Confederate Newspaper in Mexico," 74-75.
- 48 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 342-43; Mexico City *Mexican Times*, March 3, 1866.
- 49 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, January 27, February 10, 1866.
- 50 *Ibid.*, December 23, 1865, February 10, 24, 1866.
- 51 *Ibid.*, March 31, 1866; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 353-54. See also E. Michael Mendelson, "The King, The Traitor, and the Cross. An Interpretation of a Highland Maya Religious Conflict," *Diogenes*, XXI (Spring, 1958), 1-10 *passim*.

CHAPTER 17

- 1 Baton Rouge *Daily Comet*, May 22, 1853; Dorsey, *Recollections*, 340-41.
- 2 *Annual Message to the Legislature*, 1865.
- 3 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, April 7, 1866
- 4 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 351-52. See also *ibid.*, 355.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 353-54.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 352-54.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 355-56.
- 8 Major John Edwards to Dorsey, July 18, 1866, in Dorsey, *Recollections*, 363-64. See also Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 277.
- 9 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 362.
- 10 Journal of Mrs. Frances Timmons Grayson, January 22 to May 12, 1866, in Grayson Papers.
- 11 Mexico City *Mexican Times*, April 28, 1866. Major Edwards had been a

- printer for the *Mexican Times*. He later was recognized as a leading editor in the United States. See East, "Journalistic Career of Allen," 115-16.
- 12 Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 277-78.
 - 13 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 363-64.
 - 14 *Ibid.*, 354, 366, 368.
 - 15 New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, May 11, 15, 1866.
 - 16 As cited in Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 278.
 - 17 This was a carefully planned campaign. All of the letters are dated May 18, 1866. Microfilm copies are in the Louisiana Room, University of Southwestern Louisiana Library. They are also published in Dorsey, *Recollections*, 371-72. See Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 279-80, for the names of the committee members.
 - 18 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 44-45, 374-75.
 - 19 Robertson, "Henry Watkins Allen," 56.
 - 20 Quoted in Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 280-82.
 - 21 The quotations are from Chandler, "Career of Henry Watkins Allen," 283-84.
 - 22 Baton Rouge *Daily Capitolian-Advocate*, July 6, 1885.

CHAPTER 18

- 1 Dorsey, *Recollections*, 237.
- 2 Douglas Southall Freeman characterized Allen as "the single great administrator produced by the Confederacy," and pointed out that "his success in Louisiana indicates that he might have changed history to some extent if his talents could have been utilized by the Confederate government on a large scale." *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 193.

Critical Essay

on Authorities

MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS

Most of the manuscript materials used for this biography were collected singly or severally by the authors. They have been placed in the Louisiana Room of the University of Southwestern Louisiana Library, and are designated as the Henry W. Allen Collection of Louisiana Source Materials. Many of these items duplicate and supplement the considerable body of documentary evidence in the Louisiana State Archives and Records Commission in Baton Rouge.

The largest single source for the chapters dealing with Allen as governor was the several rolls of microfilm from the U.S. Record Division, Rebel Archives, Washington, D.C. This mass of materials was turned over to John M. Sandidge, Allen's chief of ordnance, when Allen went into exile. Sandidge gave it to the Federal officials after Shreveport was surrendered, and it was taken to Washington. The microfilm was made at the request of Mr. U. B. Evans of Haphazard Plantation, Ferriday, Louisiana, who presented it to the authors for the University of Southwestern Louisiana, along with other pertinent data he had collected over a long period of time. Included in the film are the official letters of Allen to and from his numerous agents throughout the state and in Texas and Mexico. They concern his sale of cotton purchased by the state and shipped out through the blockade, and his purchases of medicines, cotton and wool cards, paper, and other necessities of the state during his tenure of office. These are most specific, and should prove useful to others in related fields of study.

There are also contracts, a complete list of expenditures by the state for the Civil War period, appointment records, summaries of letters (including contents, name of writer, and date), as well as many of Allen's notes for answers by his secretaries.

Several important items not found elsewhere were presented to the authors by Mr. Dalton Watson of Enola Plantation, Waterproof, Louisi-

ana. Included in Mr. Watson's gift were letters, journals, and records pertaining to Mississippi at the time of Allen's residence there, and some helpful bits relating to the Civil War period. The authors have acquired microfilm and photocopies of scattered materials which they thought should be collected. Among them are copies of letters, deeds, land transactions, and wills from Virginia, Missouri, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Mr. Smith C. Daniell of Port Gibson, Mississippi, has the originals of several items, especially concerning Salome Allen's family. He permitted us to use and to film them for our library.

Two important items were located in the Andrew Jackson Grayson Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Mrs. Grayson's journal covering the period of January 22 to May 12, 1866, was useful for the last months of Allen's life, and the collection also contains an important letter from Allen to A. J. Grayson.

Collections in the Louisiana State University Library at Baton Rouge, the Howard Tilton Library at Tulane University, and the Delgado Museum in New Orleans proved most helpful. Several letters were traced to the Cabildo but, unfortunately, it was impossible to locate them there.

GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS: NATIONAL AND STATE

A record of Allen's legislative activity necessitates a study of both the *Mississippi House Journal* (1846) and the *Louisiana House Journal* (1856-61). The *Acts of the Legislature, State of Louisiana* (1846-65) proved helpful for Allen as both legislator and governor. Many of his Mississippi ventures can be traced in the Claiborne County records in the courthouse at Port Gibson, Mississippi. His legal activity is recorded in part in the Circuit Court Writ Document Books (1844-50) and in the Circuit Court Minute Books (1840-42). The considerable activity in buying and selling land is recorded in the Deed Books (1837-60).

The best source for Allen's military career is *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (73 vols.; Washington, 1880-1901). An important state publication is the *Official Report Relative to the Conduct of Federal Troops in Western Louisiana, During the Invasions of 1863 and 1864, Compiled from Sworn Testimony under Direction of Governor Henry W. Allen* (Shreveport, 1865). Some of Allen's addresses may be considered state publications. Especially useful were *Address of the Governor of Louisiana to the Soldiers of Missouri, Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana* (Shreveport, 1864); *Annual Message of Governor Henry Watkins Allen to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, January 1865* (Shreveport, 1865); *Inaugural Address of Governor Henry W. Allen, to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, Delivered at Shreveport, January 25, 1864* (Shreveport, 1864); *Message of Gov. Henry W. Allen, to the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, Delivered at Shreveport, January 26, 1864* (Shreveport, 1864); *To the Planters and Slave-owners of Louisiana* (Shreveport, 1864).

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

The absence of many of Allen's private letters in manuscript collections is offset by the wealth of his letters and speeches published in newspapers throughout his life and of a few articles he wrote for contemporary journals. Naturally, the most significant newspaper is the Mexico City *Mexican Times*, of which Allen was both publisher and editor during 1865-66. Here is found his editorial comment at the end of his life; the necessity of putting out a paper regularly provided reason for his writing on a wide variety of subjects. A complete file is located in the Louisiana State University Library, and a microfilm copy is in the Allen Collection in the University of Southwestern Louisiana Library.

Allen wrote regular letters to newspapers while traveling extensively through the United States and Europe. The Baton Rouge *Daily Comet* published his letters over the pseudonym Guy Mannering when he toured the South and East. The Baton Rouge *Weekly Advocate* kept his friends informed of his European tour in letters which were edited and published by Allen as *The Travels of a Sugar Planter or, Six Months in Europe* (New York, 1861). Other Louisiana newspapers of especial importance were the West Baton Rouge *Sugar Planter* and the Shreveport *Semi-Weekly News*. For the Texas venture, the New Iberia *Enterprise* was useful. For state opinion of Allen as governor, the Opelousas *Courier*, the Alexandria *Louisiana Democrat*, the New Orleans *Daily Crescent*, and the West Baton Rouge *Capitolian Vis-a-Vis* were invaluable. Other newspapers have a great deal of material relating to Allen, and several of them have been cited, but those enumerated above are the most useful.

While Allen was registered in the Harvard Law School he became involved in a fugitive-slave case in Boston. Four newspapers published articles and letters by Allen and stories about him during that time. They are the Boston *Post*, the Boston *Advertiser*, the Boston *Commonwealth*, and the Boston *Daily Times*.

The most significant periodical articles are the following: Henry W. Allen, "The First Railroad in Missouri," *St. Louis Western Journal and Civilian* (July, 1853), 308-10; J. C. Robertson, "Henry Watkins Allen," *Contemporary Review*, VIII (May-August, 1868), 35-56, which is especially useful because Robertson traveled with Allen in Europe in 1853, kept up with him after that, read Sarah Dorsey's biography, and then wrote the article. John Smith Kendall, "Recollections of a Confederate Officer," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (October, 1946), 1041-1228, deals primarily with Allen as an officer and leader of troops. William F. Zornow, "State Aid for Indigent Soldiers and their Families in Louisiana, 1861-1865," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* XXXIX (July, 1956), 375-80, is useful for Allen's early development of the welfare state. The newspaper venture in Mexico City is treated in Alfred J. Hanna, "A Confederate Newspaper in Mexico," *Journal of Southern History*, XII (February, 1946), 67-83. William T. Windham, "The Problem of Supply in the Trans-Mississippi Confederacy," *Journal of Southern*

History, XXVII (May, 1961), 149–68, is valuable for detailing Allen's efforts to provide his people with medicines, books, paper, and other necessities. It and Barnes F. Lathrop, "Disaffection in Confederate Louisiana: The Case of William Hyman," *Journal of Southern History*, XXIV (August, 1958), 308–318, show some of the problems existing between a civil governor and a military commander of the Trans-Mississippi West.

REMINISCENT WORKS, BIOGRAPHIES

The biography of Allen published in 1866 by Sarah A. Dorsey is certainly the most valuable single contribution to an understanding of Allen. Throughout much of his adult life she knew him better than any other person, spent a great deal of time with him, and was an eyewitness to many of the events she deals with in *Recollections of Henry Watkins Allen, Brigadier-General Confederate States Army Ex-Governor of Louisiana* (New York, 1866). Her work is painfully eulogistic, but this fact must not negate its value, for she published many letters both to and from Allen which would otherwise have been totally lost. Many of Allen's contemporaries wrote her, providing copies of papers for her use while writing the study. Allen specifically asked her to write the biography, so that it is the authorized biography of a man conscious of his role. For this reason he provided her with materials another person would have had difficulty acquiring.

Luther Edward Chandler's "The Career of Henry Watkins Allen" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1940) proved of immense value to the authors. Dr. Chandler graciously permitted full use of his work, which saved many hours of searching. It is especially useful for the Texas materials and newspapers and for fuller treatment of peripheral matters. Charles E. East's "The Journalistic Career of Henry Watkins Allen," (M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1962) is concerned with a literary evaluation, and goes much more fully into that aspect of Allen's career than this biography. It is valuable for a more complete understanding of the man and his methods.

For Allen's early life, Marie Oliver Watkins and Helen (Hamacher) Watkins, "*Tearin' Through the Wilderness*": *Missouri Pioneer Episodes 1822–1885 and Genealogy of the Watkins Family of Virginia and Missouri* (n.p., 1957), contains several letters and episodes of interest.

Horace Smith Fulkerson was an eyewitness to the duel Allen fought with Dr. Marsteller, and his chapter on it in *Random Recollections of Early Days in Mississippi* (Vicksburg, 1885), is the best source for that event. The book is excellent also for general background on Mississippi, since Fulkerson was a shrewd observer of his surroundings.

Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker (eds.), *The Writings of Sam Houston* (8 vols.; Austin, 1939), provided letters and general information concerning Allen's Texas venture.

Other biographical works which were especially valuable were Joseph

Howard Parks, *General Edmund Kirby Smith, C.S.A.* (Baton Rouge, 1954), and Richard Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction Personal Experiences of the Late War* (New York, 1955). T. Harry Williams, *P. G. T. Beauregard, Napoleon in Gray* (Baton Rouge, 1954), provided insight into contemporaries for the Civil War period.

HISTORIES AND MONOGRAPHS

Naturally wide use was made of such standard works as Avery O. Craven, *Civil War in the Making 1815-1860* (Baton Rouge, 1959); E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge, 1950); Frank L. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy: Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America* (Chicago, 1959); J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston, 1953); and Clifford Dowdey, *The Land They Fought For: The Story of the South as the Confederacy 1832-1865* (Garden City, 1955), to mention only a brief sampling of those consulted.

More specifically valuable, however, were such works as: the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration, *Mississippi, a Guide to the Magnolia State* (New York, 1938), and *Mississippi Gulf Coast Yesterday 1699 and Today 1939* (Gulfport, 1939); D. O. Elliot, *The Improvement of the Lower Mississippi River for Flood Control and Navigation* (Vicksburg, 1932); Arthur DeWitt Frank, *The Development of the Federal Program of Flood Control on the Mississippi River* (New York, 1930); and Tom Lea, *The King Ranch* (2 vols.; Boston, 1957).

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